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OF
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BY
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PREFACE

A MANUAL of Latin Prose Composition requires to be prefaced with no apology for its subject. This part, at any rate, of a classical education still holds its ground. For the publication of this work in particular, an excuse is sought in its distinctive character. The editor believes that there is yet room for a book containing, in conjunction with the principal rules of the Compound Sentence and a summary of the characteristics of Latin style, a larger number than is usual in such compilations of extracts for translation.

This book is intended for boys in the upper portion of the fifth and the sixth forms in a classical school; and for these an outline of the Syntax of the Moods arranged for handy reference is an obvious convenience. Less attention, indeed, has been paid to the teaching of 'style' in English manuals than is the case in Germany, where one out of several books on the subject, Berger's *Lateinische Stilistik für obere Gymnasialklassen*, has reached an eighth edition; but it is hoped that the 'Notes on Style' embodied in the present book will prove of service. It is not expected that they will at once enable the beginner to acquire a style. There is no *via munita* to the writing

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of Latin Prose. The capacity to do so depends too largely upon the capacity 'Lateinisch zu denken'; and a Latin mode of thought is the result of a saturation with Latin authors, which, save in cases of exceptional aptitude, is the outcome of wide and careful reading.

In Parts I. and II. as much use as possible is made of the 'Notes,' and reference is constantly being made to them; but it is as much with the intention of aiding learners in extracting more advantage from their reading that they have been added. It is not often that the peculiarities of Latin style are carefully and systematically pointed out by the master; yet the want of this attention must retard the process of familiarisation with them. In order that the learner may fully acquaint himself with them, and derive the greatest profit from the 'Notes on Style,' they should be employed in conjunction with the reading-book. An instance of how this may be done is given in the Appendix, where two pieces have been supplied with references. Either the 'Notes' may be brought in to each Latin construing lesson, and the sections concerned be constantly consulted, or a passage may be set as an exercise to be supplied with the proper references by the class out of school. In any case, it is indispensable that the teacher should himself be thoroughly familiar with the contents of the various sections.

The editor has given no examples *in extenso*, such as are to be found in one or two other manuals, of the method of teaching Latin Prose Composition *vivâ voce*. This is not because he does not attach the greatest importance to the method. It is indeed one which he has regularly adopted

himself. But the pieces in Part I. will nearly all be found so fully facilitated as to suggest the lines which such teaching may follow, while leaving much latitude to the teacher; and it may be found useful, with a class which is too advanced to have these proses set them to do, to run them over rapidly *vivâ voce*, or to give them as pieces to be brought up as a prepared lesson. In all cases, the editor cannot too strongly disclaim any intention of binding either master or pupil down to the particular method of translation suggested, should any better version, as is likely enough to happen, present itself.

All the extracts have been made from papers set in scholarship examinations at Marlborough or elsewhere, or from the original authors. Here and there small alterations and omissions have been made in the latter case, but substantially the pieces stand as they were written. It is hoped that none have been inserted which appear in other collections. The editor has been at pains to avoid those he has recognised; but in ransacking the various writers he has so often happened upon old acquaintances that he still fears some may have been inadvertently inserted. The passages in most writers suitable for the purpose are so surprisingly few that it is likely enough that a passage which has recommended itself to him has been approved of by some of the many who have been before him in the search.

The division into 'Narrative,' 'Oratory,' 'Dissertation,' 'Correspondence,' 'Characterisation,' has been made as of obvious convenience; but the dividing lines cannot be very precisely drawn. 'Narrative' often approximates to

'Dissertation,' and how small the difference is between the latter and the more formal letter is manifest, for instance, in Cicero's letter to Quintus on provincial administration. It will be noticed that the number of oratorical pieces is unusually large; but it is the speeches of Cicero that are mostly read in schools, and the style of them is far more easily caught than that of his philosophical writings.

The book, on the face of it, lays no claim to originality, unless it be in scope and arrangement; but it may be as well to acknowledge fully indebtedness to the various Grammars, especially those of Roby, Allen and Greenough, and Postgate; and to Nägelsbach, Heinichen, and Berger for the section on 'Style.'

The rules of Syntax and Notes on Style have had the advantage of revision by Mr. H. A. Strong, Professor of Latin in University College, Liverpool, for whose kindly aid I am glad to express my gratitude; and the whole of the proofs were submitted to, and carefully revised by, the Rev. Bertram Pollock, Headmaster-designate of Wellington College. A large part of whatever freedom from fault the book possesses is due to his care and vigilance.

B. D. TURNER.

SHERBORNE SCHOOL,
July 1893.



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THE COMPOUND SENTENCE.

1. One of the most valuable functions of Latin Prose Composition is to teach the logical dependence of one member of a sentence upon the rest, and the study of it, to be scientific, should be based upon an analysis of the compound sentence.

As most grammars are now arranged upon such lines, it will be enough here to give the barest outlines of the system.

Compound sentences are of two kinds (1) those made up of a number of co-ordinate sentences, (2) those made up of a principal sentence and subordinate sentences.

Co-ordinate sentences are such as are of the same rank : if connected with one another, they are joined by conjunctions like *et, sed, nec*, etc., and, as they are independent of one another, it is not necessary here to give special rules for their construction.

The case is different with the second class of compound sentences. The subordinate clauses, incapable of standing alone, depend upon the verb which stands to them as principal, and their construction is modified according to fixed rules by such dependence.

All subordinate clauses occupy in the sentence the position of (1) *substantives* (as subject or object of a verb, or in apposition to either) ; or (2) *adverbs*, qualifying the action of some verb, or some adjective or other adverb ; or (3) *adjectives*, attributing some quality to a noun or pronoun : this may be so done in some cases as to be

more than a bare statement of fact, and then the clause is akin to an adverbial clause.

Time has caused the distinctions, however, to become less sharp.

SUBSTANTIVAL CLAUSES.

2. These may be divided into—

I. Infinitive clauses, especially *enuntiatio obliqua*.

II. *Interrogatio obliqua*.

III. Clauses originally adverbial which in course of time have come to serve as substantival.

I. INFINITIVE CLAUSES.

The infinitive with or without its subject may stand as subject or object to a verb or in apposition to either.

Notice that it may only stand as *subject* with *est* and impersonal verbs or expressions.

¹ *It is good that our country should be dearer to us than our own selves.*

Decet cariorem nobis esse patriam quam nosmet ipsos.

² *Such a life is a token of your almost divine qualities.*

Te ita versari divinae cuiusdam virtutis est.

¹ The word *it* in English has in apposition the substantival sentence which follows, and is generally written under such circumstances, but compare

True is, less firmly armed
Some disadvantage we endured and pain.

and contrast

To stand or fall
Free in thine own arbitrament it lies.

² In Old English a subject like this was allowable with the infinitive.

'It is full fair, a man to bere him evene.'—CHAUCER, *C. T.* 1525.

3. Generally where the subject of the infinitive is indefinite (*a man, anyone, people*) it is omitted, but any adjective or substantive forming the predicate will be in the accusative.

It is disgraceful for men to be covetous.

Esse cupidos turpe est.

It is a great thing for anyone to be made consul.

Consulem fieri magnificum est.

Except that if a *dative* is expressed after the principal verb, the predicate of the infinitive is ¹ ordinarily attracted into that case.

It is not everyone's good fortune to be born rich.

Non cuivis homini contingit diviti nasci.

4. Where the verb in English is one of the following impersonal phrases, *it is said, thought, proved, forbidden, it seems*, or the like, the personal construction is generally required.

It is thought that the moon is lit up by the sun.

Luna solis lumine collustrari putatur.

It seemed to me that I moved my audience.

Visus sum mihi animos auditorum commovere.

Though with the compounded tenses and the gerundive this is not so universal.

There was a tradition that Homer had been blind.

Traditum est Homerum caecum fuisse.

5. As *object*, the infinitive, with its subject in the accusative, is found after all verbs *sentiendi et declarandi*,

¹ Not always ; e.g. *licet* may take the following construction : *Civi Romano licet esse Gaditanum.*

forming what is called *oratio obliqua* (56, 57). Also after phrases like *spes, opinio, testis, auctor est*. For the construction of their passives, see above.

I see that I shall be in danger.

Fore me quidem in discrimine video.

We guarantee that the honour of Rome will be safe there.

Auctores sumus tutam ibi maiestatem Romani nominis fore.

6. The infinitive is also an alternative construction (see 15) after *verba affectuum* (verbs of mental emotion).

I am glad that you give me this advice.

Gaudeo id te mihi suadere.

I wonder that you write me no news.

Miror te ad me nihil scribere.

He complained that promises were not kept.

Promissa non servari querebatur.

7. Notice that verbs of *promising, hoping, swearing, threatening, pretending*, take the accusative and infinitive regularly, unlike the English idiom, in which they take a prolate infinitive.

He promised to give whatever they wanted.

Promisit se quicquid vellent daturum esse.

He pretended to be mad.

Simulavit se insanire.

8. Here may be noticed several cases in which an infinitive is found connected with a verb, though scarcely forming a substantival sentence. Such verbs are those of *beginning, continuing, ceasing, hesitating, daring, fearing to, wishing, being able, being accustomed, intending, resolving, knowing how*, etc.; and the (personal) passives of those verbs which fall under 4. The construction of these is

however hardly subject to any general rule, and considerable difficulty is experienced in their employment.

Cease to teach me that.

Desine me id docere.

I had resolved to write you a letter.

Statueram tibi aliquid scribere.

NOTE.—Verbs of *purposing and resolving* sometimes take *ut* with the subjunctive, and generally so where the subject of the dependent verb is *not* the same as that of the principal.

9. Where in English we have a verb which takes a direct personal object with an infinitive or verb noun following, as in a phrase like ‘I wish him to go away,’ the construction in Latin varies between the infinitive and the *ut* construction.

The infinitive is regularly found after *doceo, iubeo, veto, sino, arguo, insimulo* (accuse), *cupio, patior, volo* (and its compounds); sometimes after *hortor, cogo, oro, prohibeo, impedio, permitto*; after others less commonly.

Our ancestors wished the frames of our youths to be strengthened by toil.

Maiores corpora iuvenum firmari labore voluerunt.

NOTE.—*Volo* takes also the *ut* construction sometimes if the subject of the dependent verb is not the same as that of the principal. In colloquial and epistolary style we find *velim, vellem, nolim, nollem*, etc., followed by a subjunctive without *ut*.

I could have wished it had been true.

Vellem verum fuisset.

I should have preferred you to fear Cerberus.

Mallet Cerberum metueres.

II. INTERROGATIO OBLIQUA.

10. There is little difficulty connected with this class of sentence. The only thing necessary is to distinguish indirect questions from adjectival clauses which they sometimes resemble through the omission or incorporation into the relative clause of the antecedent, as in the two sentences: 'He gave him what books he had,' and 'He asked him what books he had.' Indirect questions have of course the subjunctive always.

Notice that indirect questions are often found with verbs and phrases which only by implication involve a question.

I fear for our side, what he will answer.

Nostrae timeo parti quid hic responsurus sit.

I don't care a straw how the senate rate me.

A senatu quanti fiam, minime me poenitet.

You cannot think how little interest I take in your affairs.

Incredibile est quam ego ista non curem.

11. Where in English we have such phrases as 'the reason why,' 'the cause why,' etc., the substantive will not ordinarily be represented in Latin:

The reason why I have done this is not unknown to you,

Vobis satis cognitum est cur hoc fecerim,

but the phrases *quid est causae cur*, or *quid est causae quin*, are common; as, *quid est causae quin coloniam in Ianiculum possint deducere*.

12. In translating the English 'if' and 'whether,' introducing simple dependent questions, it should be remembered that *si* and *utrum* are impossible. *Num*, *numquid*, etc., which, when dependent, imply no special answer, and *-ne* must be employed instead.

I should like to know whether one ought to be at Rome.
Scire velim numquid necesse sit esse Romae.

An ('whether not') in single dependent sentences is to be used only with special phrases, such as *haud scio*, *nescio*, *dubito*, *dubium est*, *incertum est*, and denotes a suspicion that a suggestion is true.

Perhaps I should call Aristotle the king of philosophers.
Aristotelem haud scio an dixerim principem philosophorum.

You have had the fortune which perhaps no one else has.
Contigit tibi quod haud scio an nemini.

13. In double questions the formulae are—

utrum . . . *an*.
-ne *an*.
 *ne*.

If no verb is expressed in the second part *an non* or *necne* ('or not') should be written.

14. Dubitative questions originally in the subjunctive retain their dubitative sense when dependent.

It was not quite settled what they were to do.
Non satis constabat quid agerent.

I don't know what to do about the boys.
De pueris quid agam non habeo.

III. CLAUSES ORIGINALLY ADVERBIAL.

15. With many verbs and expressions various adverbial clauses take the place of subject or object, either to the exclusion of other constructions or as an alternative to the infinitive sentence.

Where it is necessary to emphasise the fact, a clause introduced by *quod*, 'the fact that,' 'the fact of,' ordinarily with the indicative, is used. The clause was perhaps originally adverbial causal, and so is found constantly with phrases indicating mental emotion (not those *sentienti et declarandi*), to express the fact which is the cause of the emotion (35), but many of the same verbs may also be used with the infinitive (6).

Some think the fact that I am alive to be an offence.

Sunt qui criminis loco putent esse quod vivam.

I pass over the fact that he selected that home for himself.

Praetereo quod illam sibi domum delegit.

The fact of being a foreigner was a great hindrance to Eumenes.

Eumeni multum detraxit quod alienae civitatis erat.

Your having seen him nowhere was a great misfortune.

Accidit perincommode quod eum nunquam vidisti.

The clause is very often in apposition for emphasis' sake or convenience.

There was this further circumstance, that his father was dead.

Id quoque accesserat, quod eius pater mortuus erat.

And even to an oblique case as—

We have this special advantage over the beasts, that we speak.

Hoc praestamus maxime feris quod loquimur.

Notice the rhetorical formula: *Quid? quod . . . = How about the fact that . . .*

16. The *quod* clause is very frequently without any definite relation to the rest of the sentence, as a kind of accusative of relation.

As regards my statement above that Curio was more than lukewarm, he is now hot.

Quod tibi supra scripsi Curionem valde frigere, nunc calet.

The following phrases, collected from some of Cicero's letters, will give an instance of the frequency of the construction and examples of its use:—*Quod scire vis—quod mihi de nostro statu gratularis—quod scribis te velle scire—quod rogas ut de filia mea tibi scripta mittam—quod me admones ut scribam—quod me audis erectiorem esse animo—quod dicis* (generally at the beginning of a sentence).

17. A final clause with *ut*, *ne*, *ut ne* is found as object to verbs whose action looks to some end. Such are verbs of *admonishing, advising, asking, commanding, decreeing, determining, endeavouring, permitting, persuading, wishing, attempting to hinder*. Latin—*Id ago, caveo (ne), censeo, cogo, contendo, concedo, constituo (statuo), curo, decerno, edico, flagito, hortor, impero, insto, mando, moneo, negotium do, operam do, oro, permitto, persuadeo, peto, postulo, praecepicio, precor, pronuntio, quaero, rogo, scisco, video, volo*. The same clause is subject to the passives of many of these. Many, see 9, also take the infinitive construction.

I advise you to avoid all suspicion.

Moneo ut omnem suspicionem vites.

They were allowed to go.

Permissum est ut abirent.

With several the *ut* may be omitted, especially with those denoting *wish, necessity, permission*.

Let me live.

Sine vivam.

18. Verbs of *fearing* take a special construction, *ne* answering to the English 'that' or 'lest,' and *ut* or *ne non* answering to 'that . . . not.'

There is a danger lest he grow too strong.

Periculum est ne nimis potens fiat.

I fear that Verres has been acquitted.

Vereor ne Verres absolutus sit.

19. A consecutive clause denoting a result with *ut, ut non*, is found (1) very frequently as the subject of many impersonal verbs and expressions,¹ and (2) more rarely as the object of several verbs which denote the accomplishment of an effort. Such are (1) *accedit, accidit, additur, conducit, contingit, convenit* (it is agreed), *est, evenit, expedit, fit, fieri potest, fore, futurum est, interest, licet, oportet, placet, praestat, prodest, refert, relinquitur, restat, sequitur, superest, aequum est, altera res est, consuetudo est, integrum est, lex est, mos est, munus est, necesse est, opus est, prope est, proximum est, rectum est, reliquum est, tanti est, tantum abest, verisimile est, verum est*; (2) *committo, consequor, efficio, facio, impetro*. It is also common after *quam*.

It often happens that those who owe do not come up to time.

Saepe fit ut ii qui debent non respondeant ad tempus.

It was my fault that you had no successor.

Factum est mea culpa ut tibi non succederetur.

I have made the second year involve a third.

Id commisi ut ille alter annus tertium adduceret.

¹ See the lists given in Mr. Postgate's Grammar.

OBS. In many cases the clause connected with these expressions may also be final (negative *ne*) accordingly as the *result* or *purpose* of the action is most prominent.

It is the first duty of justice (to see that) that no one hurts another.

Iustitiae primum munus est ut ne cui quis noceat.

20. *Quin* and *quominus* sometimes introduce sentences acting as subject or object, though originally these sentences have been final or consecutive. Some sentences with *quin* ('how . . . not') are true substantival sentences, and fall under *interrogatio obliqua*.

It is difficult to give any rules for their use, but it may be said generally—

(1) That verbs and expressions of *forbidding*, *hindering*, *restraining*, or *declining*, whether negated or not, are followed by *ne* and *quominus*, the former where the intention rather than the result is indicated.

(2) That some of the same expressions, when negated, and those of *not neglecting*, *not doubting*, and many other negative phrases take *quin*; yet *impedio*, *prohibeo*, *intercedo*, *interdico*, even when negated, rarely take *quin*.

No verb or expression should be constructed with *quin* or *quominus* unless there is warrant for it. The following instances may serve as guide:—

QUOMINUS.—*Non deterret sapientem mors quominus—per te stetit quominus—interpellare aliquem quominus—cognovit per Afranum stare quominus—neque impedio quominus—non accusabo [repugnabo] quominus—nullis terminis circumscribere suum ius quominus—nulla excusatio quominus adesset satis visa est—causam magnam puto quominus—hiems prohibuit quominus—te infirmitas tenuit quominus—quae religio fuerat quominus . . . ?—ne clarissimi quidem viri abstinuerunt quominus—nec vero Isocrati offecit quominus.*

NE.—*Ne facerem impedivit—obstitisti ne—impedior ne—interdictum erat ne—recuso ne—ne diceret recusavit.*

QUIN.—*Facere non possum quin—quis dubitat quin . . . ?—dubitatis quin . . . ? non erat dubium quin—haud multum abfuit quin—neque Caesarem fefellit quin—neque abest suspicio quin—vix animis temperavere quin—nihil praetermisi quin—neque ambigitur quin—vix abstinui quin—nihil impedit quin—non recuso quin—abesse non potest quin—vix me contineo quin—non possumus recusare quin—non cunctandum existimavit quin—expectari diutius non oportet quin—quid est causae quin . . . ?—non possumus quin—non dubitat quin—paullum abfuit quin—quis ignorat quin . . . ?—nihil abest quin : See also under 28. Quin (qui-ne) in nemo est quin—quis est quin, is a relative adjective.*

ADVERBIAL SENTENCES.

I. CONSECUTIVE SENTENCES.

Denoting the result of an action or quality.

21. These are introduced by *ut*, negative *ut non*, *ut nemo*, *ut nullus*, *ut nusquam*, etc. Often in the principal sentence we find some demonstrative, as *is*, *ita*, *tantus*, *adeo*, *usque eo*, *tam*, which prepares for the consecutive sentence; and it is used after comparatives with *quam*. The negative form often answers to the English 'too . . . to,' 'instead of,' 'so far from' (with *adeo non*, . . . *ut*, and *tantum abest ut* . . . *ut* . . .).

So far from admiring our own productions, Demosthenes himself does not satisfy us.

Tantum abest ut nostra miremur, ut nobis non satisfaciat ipse Demosthenes.

I was too far off to see.

Tam longe aberam ut non viderem.

Instead of sparing him he killed him.

Adeo non parcebat ut interficeret.

Many old men are too weak to discharge any duty.

Ita multi sunt imbecilli senes ut nullum officii munus exsequi possint.

Pierced with (so) many wounds that he could now scarce hold himself upright.

Multis confectus vulneribus ut iam se sustinere non posset.

22. Notice a peculiarity in the consecution of tenses, the *perfect subjunctive* being used for the *imperfect*, apparently when emphasis is laid on the fact as being historical and permanently recorded, and thus practically present to us.

They were in such disorder that (we read) the consul stopped some with his own hands.

Adeo turbati erant ut quosdam consul manu ipse reprenderit.

In his journeys he showed himself so active, that (we know) no one ever saw him on horseback.

In itineribus eo usque se praebebat impigrum ut eum nemo unquam in equo sedentem viderit.

23. *Ut* often has a conditioning or restrictive force. English 'without,' 'on condition of.'

Whose genius I praise without fearing it.

Cuius ingenium ita laudo ut non pertimescam.

The state is too sick to be stayed by simple remedies.

Non ita civitas aegra est ut consuetis remediis sisti possit.

The spear was said to have burnt without being consumed.

Hasta ita arsisse dicebatur ut non ambureretur.

Who would be king on condition of forfeiting all love?

. Quis est qui velit, ut omnino non diligatur, rex fieri?

Sometimes the *ut* so used is rather final than consecutive, and *ne* is used for the negative.

This is so far useful as it prevents us being deceived by our accusers.

Hoc est ita utile ut ne plane illudamur ab accusatoribus.

He knew he ought to grow rich without losing his independence.

Sciebat ita rem augere oportere ut ne quid de libertate perderet.

24. *Ut* is occasionally used like *ὥστε* in Greek as a particle of inference = *quare* or *igitur*.

I am away from town, and therefore I cannot know who are starting for you.

Absum ab urbe ut, qui ad te proficiscantur, scire non possim.

25. Consecutive sentences are very frequently introduced by (a) relatives, and (b) relative particles.

The consecutive relative is found after

(a) Demonstratives, such as *is*, *talīs*, *tantus*, *huiusmodi*.

(β) Phrases expressing existence, especially when negative or interrogative: as *est qui*, *sunt qui*, *nonnulli*, *multi*, *pauci sunt qui*, *reperiuntur qui*, *nemo est qui*, *quis est qui . . . ?* Note that the expressions have an indefinite subject antecedent to *qui*.

- (γ) Certain adjectives, as *dignus, indignus, aptus, idoneus*.
(δ) *Quam* following a comparative.

I am not the man to do this.

Non is sum qui hoc faciam.

The trees they cut down were too large for the soldiery to carry.

Maiores arbores caedebant quam quas ferre miles posset.

How few obey dreams.

Quotus est quisque qui somniis pareat.

A scrivener was found to bell the cat.

Inventus est scribe quidam qui cornicum oculos confixerit.

They say much that they scarce understand.

Multa dicunt quae vix intelligant.

There was nothing valuable enough to compensate for our lost credit.

Nihil tanti fuit quo non desideremus nostram fidem.

You should have been above committing wrong.

Indignus eras qui faceres iniuriam.

26. The negative of the consecutive relative is *quin*, which is mostly used as the nominative, but also less commonly in oblique cases.

There was no one unwounded.

Nemo erat quin vulneraretur.

There was no one at Lilybaeum but saw it.

Nemo Lilybaei fuit quin viderit.

There was no silver plate that he did not hunt out.

Nullum argenteum vas fuit quin ille conquisierit.

27. Like *ut*, the relative often has the restrictive sense : *quidem* or *modo* is then frequently added.

So far as I know.

Quod sciam.

The speeches of Cato, so far as I have come across them.

Catonis orationes, quas quidem invenerim.

Of all speakers, so far as I have known them.

Omnium quidem oratorum, quos quidem cognoverim.

No one is a slave who, that is to say, is one under tolerable terms.

Nemo est servus qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis.

28. Relative particles are used under the same conditions.

There was nothing left to collect into a mound.

Unde agger comportari posset nihil erat reliquum.

The time will come when you miss your country.

Erit illud tempus cum patriam desideres.

There is a limit to forgiveness for friendship's sake.

Est quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit.

So well worth while is it for you to spend your energies in the matter.

Sic (adeo) res digna est ubi nervos intendas tuos.

The van followed the standards where, that is to say, their leaders went before.

Primi, qua modo praeirent duces, signa sequebantur.

Things are never so bad with the Sicilians that they can't make a joke.

Nunquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete dicant.

I never had any one to send letters to you by, without sending them.

Litteras ad te numquam habui cui darem, quin dederim.

They let no day pass without sending ambassadors.

Nullum intermiserunt diem quin legatos mitterent.

I never visit you without going away a wiser man.

Nunquam accedo quin abs te abeam doctior.

29. Finally, a consecutive force may be given by co-ordination of sentences.¹

So far are they from pursuing pleasure, they endure anxieties even.

Tantum abest ut voluptates consectentur, etiam curas perferunt.

So far were you from exciting our minds, we scarcely refrained from sleep.

Tantum abfuit ut inflammaret nostros animos, somnum vix tenebamus.

So far am I from praising him, I actually blame him.

Ita eum non laudo, etiam vitupero.

See 90, 3.

II. FINAL SENTENCES.

30. The final conjunctions are *ut, ut ne, neve, ne quis, ne quando, necubi, ne quo*, etc.; *quo* (generally with comparatives), *quominus*. Besides this the relative and

¹ The psychological explanation of such constructions is that a second thought supplants the first in the mind of the speaker or writer.

relative particles, as *unde*, *ubi*, etc., are employed in a final sense. The final sentence often answers to words in the sentence like *ideo*, *idcirco*, *eo consilio*, *ob eam rem*, *ea causa*, introduced into the principal sentence for the sake of balance and emphasis.

We are the servants of the laws to the end that we may be free.

Legum idcirco servi sumus ut liberi esse possimus.

Care should be taken to provide for the interests of individuals too.

Danda opera est ut etiam singulis consulatur.

The stems are covered with bark to keep them safer from frosts.

Obducuntur cortice trunci quo sint a frigoribus tutiores.

I sent a man to tell you this.

Misi qui hoc tibi diceret.

I had a refuge.

Habebam quo confugerem.

He wrote speeches for others to deliver.

Scribebat orationes quas alii dicerent.

I returned to Formiae to avoid meeting him anywhere.

Ipse ne quo inciderem Formias reverti.

You will tear up those letters to prevent anything hereafter leaking out.

Tu eas epistolas concerpito ne quando quid emanet.

The man who props up my house to prevent it falling does me a kindness.

Qui domum meam quominus ruat fulcit, praestat mihi beneficium.

31. *Nedum* and *ne* are used in a special manner occasionally, to denote something which is rendered inconceivable by the known occurrence or non-occurrence of another action. Such use answers to our English 'much less.'

The cold is hardly avoided in houses, much less can one escape injury from exposure on sea.

Vix in tectis ipsis frigus vitatur, nedum in mari sit facile abesse iniuria temporis.

32. A final sentence is used parenthetically with only an indirect connection with the principal verb; as,

Not to be tedious, I will say good-bye.

Ne longior sim vale.

So *ne plura dicam, ut ad . . . redeamus, ut eodem revertar*, and in such combinations as

A cruel, not to say ruffianly, man.

Crudelem ne dicam sceleratum hominem.

It was the act of a very unthinking, not to say impudent, man.

Satis inconsiderati fuit ne dicam audacis.

33. Alternative ways of expressing purpose are by the gerund and gerundive with *ad*, *causâ*, *gratâ*, and, with some expressions of motion, the supine in *-um*: the future participle is not a classical means of expressing it.

III. CAUSAL SENTENCES.

34. In translating causal sentences into Latin we have to distinguish (1) sentences which state an *admitted* fact as a reason, introduced in English by *since*, *inasmuch as*, *seeing that*. These will be represented in Latin by a clause, usually preceding the principal verb, introduced (*a*) by *quoniam*, *quando*, *quandoquidem*, *siquidem*, *quatenus* (rarely

*quod*¹) with the indicative, or (β) by *cum* with the subjunctive (primary or historic). Thus

Since it is nightfall, go to your homes.

Quoniam iam nox est, discedite.

As nothing could be done, he left the country.

Quando nil fieri poterat, patria excessit.

Seeing that every consideration urges me to pity, I will follow my natural inclination.

Cum omnes me causae ad misericordiam vocent, naturae meae serviam.

35. (2) If a fact is only *alleged* as a reason, we have to see whether (α) it is alleged by the writer or speaker or (β) quoted on the authority of any one else. The conjunctions used will be (*quippe*) *quod*, (*quippe*) *quia*, (*quippe*) *quoniam*, generally, and the mood in (α) indicative, in (β) subjunctive, it being remembered that *quia* is less frequently written with the subjunctive. It is a corollary to this that where a cause is quoted only to be rejected, with *non quod*, *non quia*, *non quoniam*, *non quo*, *non quin*, the subjunctive is always found.

Socrates was accused of, as his accusers said, corrupting youth.

Socrates accusatus est quod corrumperet iuventutem.

No one admired the orator on the grounds that he spoke Latin.

Nemo oratorem admiratus est quod Latine loqueretur.

In translating

Not because publicity is to be avoided, but because virtue has no nobler theatre than a man's conscience,

notice that Latin may omit the second 'because,' and write

Non quo populus fugiendus sit, sed nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia maius est.

¹ Chiefly when emphasised by the addition of *idcirco*, *propterea*, etc.

Notice that in Latin, words of *accusation, praise, blame, complaint, surprise, joy, grief*, take a causal sentence after them (15), in this respect contrasting with the English idiom. The mood is settled in accordance with the considerations already given. *Cum* even, after *laudo, gratulor, gratias ago, gratia est*, usually takes the indicative in Cicero and earlier writers.

I congratulate you on being so influential with Dolabella.

Gratulor tibi cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam.

Panaetius praises Africanus as having been temperate.

Laudat Panaetius Africanum quod fuerit abstinens.

In both (1) and (2) the causal sentence is often prepared for, or emphasised, by such words as *eo, idcirco, propterea, ob eam rem*.

It is because a man's nature cannot change, that true friendships are everlasting.

Quia natura mutari non potest idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt.

I made you freedman instead of slave, just because you freely gave me your service.

Feci e servo ut esses libertus propterea quod serviebas liberaliter.

36. When an adjectival sentence expresses *cause*, the subjunctive is written, the relative being often strengthened with *ut, utpote, quippe*.

I seem to have done wrong in leaving you.

Peccasse mihi videor qui a te discesserim.

Nor did the consul, seeing that this had been his real object, delay the engagement.

Nec consul ut qui id ipsum petivisset moram certamini fecit.



37. Often, however, a fact which is a *cause* is presented as a *fact*, and the indicative is written unexpectedly.

I have to thank old age warmly for increasing my appetite for talk, destroying it for food.

Habeo senectuti magnam gratiam quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit.

And sometimes even (in Sallust and Livy) with *quippe qui*.

Your anger must be pardoned, seeing that you act on good motives.

Irae vestrae ignoscendum est quippe qui honeste facitis.

This is particularly noticeable in the parenthetical construction.

Such is your wisdom (self-control).

Qua es prudentia—quae est tua temperantia.

IV. TEMPORAL SENTENCES.

38. Temporal conjunctions take the indicative, if the notion of time only is present.

The following, which denote an act succeeded immediately by another, rarely take anything but the indicative: *quando* (not frequent, except in indirect questions), *ut*, *ut semel*, *ut primum*, *postquam*, *ubi*, *ubi semel*, *ubi primum*, *simul*, *simul atque* (*ac* before consonants).

As soon as they got the news, they sent ambassadors.

Simul certiores facti sunt legatos mittunt.

As soon as I hear something, I will write to you.

Simul aliquid audiero (*notice tense*) scribam ad te.

As soon as ever he could, he left him.

Ubi primum potuit eum reliquit.

39. But notice that the imperfect and pluperfect are not very often found with these words.

As soon as I had received your letters, I asked Balbus.

Simul accepi litteras tuas statim quaesivi e Balbo.

When he had said this to the infantry, he next hurried to the cavalry.

Haec ubi dicta inter signa peditum dedit avolat
deinde ad equites.

When he had reached the place, he demanded hostages.

Eo postquam pervenit obsides poposcit.

When they had seen the Romans enter the defile, they attacked them unexpectedly.

Postquam intrasse Romanos viderunt saltum incautos invasere.

When these tenses are used, it is to emphasise one of the distinct meanings of the imperfect, or to lay stress upon the state produced (pluperf.)

When their fortunes began to be prosperous, jealousy was aroused.

Postquam res eorum satis prospera videbatur, invidia orta est.

Ten days after I had absented myself.

Undecimo (notice inclusive reckoning) die postquam discesseram.

40. Those temporal conjunctions which indicate an action subsequent to another, *dum*, *donec*,¹ *quoad*, *antequam*, *priusquam*, often imply something more than the fixing of the time: they may denote *purpose*, *expectancy*, *prevention*, and will then take the subjunctive: indeed

¹ Note that *donec* is only used three times by Cicero, never by Caesar or Sallust.

this is often the case where there is little trace of any conception except time in the English.

Before you began to speak, I understood and took my measures.

Præusquam loqui coepistis sensi et providi.

He stayed in the senate till it was dismissed.

In senatu fuit quoad senatus dimissus est.

Wait till he speaks.

Exspecta dum dicit.

Wait for him to speak.

Exspecta dum dicat.

The soldiers halted for the governor of the place to review their strength.

Quieverere milites dum præfectus urbis vires inspiceret.

They do not despatch their chiefs, till they agree to take up arms.

Non prius duces dimittunt quam ab his concessum sit arma uti capiant.

The consul's command was extended till a successor should arrive.

Consuli prorogatum imperium donec successor ei venisset.

41. *Cum* requires special treatment. It is generally used with a sentence which does not merely fix the date of an action, but adds an essential touch to the description, denoting the *circumstance* (see Causal (34), Concess. (46), etc.) under which it took place. It thus takes regularly—

(1) The imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive of past time.

When I was at Athens I used often to attend Zeno's lectures.

Zenonem, cum Athenis essem, audiebam frequenter

(2) Where one action is contrasted with another, any tense of the subj. is used.

The book, while it is superior to the others, still has defects.
 Liber, cum ceteros superet, tum mendas aliquas
 habet.

But where the actions are simply placed side by side the indicative may be written, except in the imperfect.

*Things which are not only repugnant to civilisation but
 out of keeping with your position.*
 Quae cum abhorrent ab humanitate tum vero digni-
 tati tuae sunt contraria.

42. Notice the use of *cum* after verbs of *hearing, seeing, etc.*

He was never seen coming.
 Nunquam est conspectus cum veniret.
I heard him singing.
 Audivi eum cum caneret.

43. *Cum* takes the indicative in certain exceptional cases only : (1) chiefly where the tense seems to be emphasised, or *identity of time or action* indicated.

At the time when they had had many losses in Asia.
 Tum cum in Asia multas res amiserant.

The matter, even as I wrote, had come to a critical state.
 Res cum haec scribebam erat in extremum adducta
 discrimen.

*While I was actually driving him from the city, I
 foresaw this.*
 Quem quidem cum ex urbe pellebam hoc providebam
 animo.

(2) When it means 'since,' temporal. See below, 44.

(3) Where it denotes such identity of action as is indicated in English by the forms 'in —ing,' 'by —ing,' etc., generally with present, but occasionally perfect.

You do well in remembering your friends.

Praeclare facis cum amicorum memoriam tenes.

You are mad in asking me that.

Insanis cum id me interrogas.

In saying there was nothing better than the universe, what did you mean by better?

Cum mundo negasti quicquam esse melius, quid dixisti melius?

(4) When it equals *et tum*, being put with the sentence which would naturally be the principal one: usually with perfect indicative.

Spring was at hand when Hannibal moved out of winter quarters.

Iam ver appetebat cum Hannibal ex hibernis movit.

They were about to do this when the matrons rushed forward.

Hoc facere apparabant cum matres familiae procurerunt.

44. It may be useful to give special instances of the more difficult usages of some of the temporal conjunctions as equivalents for English.

While = 'at the time that.' *Dum*, generally with pres. indic. of past events (even in *or. obl.*) unless for purposes of contrast it is advisable to write perfect or imperfect.

While this was being done, Cleomenes had arrived.

Haec dum aguntur advenerat Cleomenes.

While = 'so long as' (temporal). *Dum, donec* (rare except in later writers), *quoad*, regularly, *quamdiu* always, with the indicative (all tenses except pluperfect).

So long as the State exists, there will be trials.

Dum civitas erit iudicia fient.

While there is life there is hope, they say.

Dum anima est spes esse dicitur.

I did this as long as it was lawful : I refrained as long as it was unlawful.

Hoc feci dum licuit : intermisi quoad non licuit.

As long as they were retreating in order, it was the infantry's task to pursue.

Donec conferti abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit.

While I was with you, you could not see my soul.

Neque enim dum eram vobiscum animum meum videbatis.

While = 'in —ing.' *Dum* with present and perfect indicative.

In trying to rise one step in the ladder of rank, he ran into danger.

Dum unum ascendere gradum dignitatis conatus est in periculum venit.

Through wishing to keep a few pieces of property, he has lost his all.

Dum pauca mancipia retinere vult fortunas omnes perdidit.

Until. *Dum, donec, quoad*, with present, perfect, or future-perfect indicative, or, according to rule above (40), present and imperfect subjunctive; after a negative *ante-*



quam, priusquam, with the same tenses (occasionally also the pluperfect).

I am waiting till I find out about your business.

Opperior dum ista cognosco.

He kept to his bargain till the panel was challenged.

Mansit in condicione dum iudices reiecti sunt.

There was silence till he returned.

Donec rediit silentium fuit.

*I shall be anxious about what you are doing till I know
what you have done.*

Mihi curae erit quid agas, dum, quid egeris, sciero.

They did not stop flying till they reached the river.

Neque prius fugere destiterunt quam ad flumen
pervenerunt.

*He withstood the enemy till the others could break down
the bridge.*

Impetum hostium sustinuit quoad ceteri pontem
interrumperent.

Since. *Cum* with indicative.

It is many years since he has been in my debt.

Multi anni sunt cum ille in aere meo est.

It is a year since I saw the man.

Annus est cum illum vidi.

It is a month since I wrote this letter.

Triginta dies erant cum has dabam litteras.

*It is not a hundred and ten years yet since the law was
passed.*

Nondum centum et decem anni sunt cum lata lex est.

Ut with indicative.

Since I left the city, I have never missed a day without writing some news to you.

Ut ab urbe discessi nullum adhuc intermisi diem quin aliquid ad te litterarum darem.

Since you brought out those books, we have had nothing from you.

Ut illos libros edidisti nihil a te postea accepimus.

Postquam (Plaut.) with indicative.

It is two years now since I left home.

Biennium iam factum est postquam domo abii.

V. INDEFINITE RELATIVES.

45. In indefinite and frequentative statements the indicative is used in writers up to and including Cicero; afterwards, *e.g.* in Livy, the subjunctive is regular.

Notice that even *cum* is so used.

Whenever I find myself in my country-house, simple idleness is my delight.

Cum ad villam veni, hoc ipsum nihil agere me delectat.

Wherever unrestrained passions are linked with effeminacy, there is a double mischief.

Si ad luxuriam etiam libidinum intemperantia accessit duplex malum est.

Wherever you have cast your eyes, your wrongs meet your sight.

Quocunque aspexisti tuae tibi occurrunt iniuriae.

Whenever spring began, Verres used to devote himself to business and to travelling.

Cum ver esse coeperat Verres dabat se labori atque itineribus.

As soon as ever Alcibiades grew careless, his irregularity manifested itself.

Alcibiades simul ac se remiserat intemperans reperiabatur.

Wherever the cavalry had charged, the enemy were obliged to give ground.

Quamcumque in partem equites impetum fecerant hostes loco cogeantur.

All that Capua did in the Carthaginian war, she did single-handed.

Bello Punico quicquid potuit Capua, potuit ipsa per se.

Whoever he was, the accused used to be condemned.

Quisquis erat damnabatur.

If ever they had failed to keep the enemy from pursuing, he used to attack them while in disorder from the rear.

Si ab persequendo hostes deterrere nequiverant disiectos ab tergo circumveniebat.

Livy (subjunctive):

Whomsoever the lictor had seized at the consul's bidding, the tribune would order to be released.

Quemcumque lictor iussu consulisprehendisset tribunus mitti iubebat.

Whenever the herald had recited the formula, he used to hurl the spear into the territory of the enemy.

Id fetialis ubi dixisset hastam in fines eorum mittebat.

Wherever he had attacked, he brought victory in his train.

Quocumque se intulisset victoriam secum trahebat.

VI. CONCESSIVE CLAUSES.

I.

46. The rules are not difficult.

(1) All compounds of *si* (*etsi*, *tametsi*, *si maxime*, etc.), follow the rules of hypothetical clauses: practically they take the indicative of a *conceded fact* and subjunctive of *conceded supposition*.

Though he did not yet know the enemy's intention, he still surmised that that would happen which did.

Etsi nondum hostium consilium cognoverat, tamen fore id quod accidit suspicabatur.

Nor, indeed, if the statues had been ever so completely overturned, could I have shown them to you on the ground.

Neque enim, si maxime statuæ deiectæ essent, eas ego vobis possem iacentes ostendere.

(2) In the best authors *quamquam* and *utut* are always of admitted fact and take the indicative, while *quamvis*, *ut*, *ne*, *ut ne*, *licet* (present and perfect only) *cum*, take the subjunctive; but in later writers beginning with Livy (especially in Tacitus) *quanquam* is found with subjunctive and *quamvis* with indicative. For *quamquam*=‘and yet,’ see 86.

For though Plato adduced no reason, he would overwhelm me by his mere dictum.

Ut enim rationem Plato nullam afferret ipsa auctoritate me frangeret.

Though all virtue attracts, justice and generosity do so most effectually.

Quamquam omnis virtus nos ad se allicit, tamen iustitia et liberalitas id maxime efficit.

Though flattery is harmful, it cannot hurt any one who is not pleased with it.

Assentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi qui ea delectatur.

Granted that pain is not the greatest evil, an evil it assuredly is.

Ne sit summum malum dolor : malum certe est.

(3) With adjectives, *quamvis* ('though ever so'), less often *etsi*, is used.

Were I but free from this burden, I should be content with any spot in Italy, however small, to hide in.

Si hoc onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem.

Had my advice been taken, we should have had a state though not a perfect one.

Si mihi obtemperatum esset, etsi non optimam, at aliquam rempublicam haberemus.

(4) The concessive relative always takes the subjunctive.

Even I, though I had only trifled with Greek literature, made a stay at Athens.

Egom et qui Graecas litteras leviter attigissem, tamen Athenis commoratus sum.

But a sentence which might be regarded as concessive is sometimes regarded as a fact.

State that Flavius gave to Fannius a large sum of money, though he gave not a farthing.

Dic Flavium Fannio grandem pecuniam dedisse qui assem nullum dedit.

II.

47. There are various other means of expressing concessive sentences.

(a) The participle.

But he was like to be elected consul, though the man opposed: indeed was the more likely on that account.

At eo repugnante fiebat consul: immo vero eo fiebat magis.

(b) The hortative subjunctive, often with *sane* and *fortasse*.

Granted that Scipio is illustrious; there will be some room for our fame.

Sit clarus Scipio, erit aliquid loci nostrae gloriae.

Untrue they may be, malicious they are not.

Sint falsa sane, invidiosa certe non sunt.

(c) The indicative or imperative with *sane*, *quidem*, *omnino*, *fortasse*, *ut* . . . *sic (ita)*.¹ See Comparative Sentences, 54.

Granted your way is honourable, mine is expedient.

Est istuc quidem honestum, verum hoc expedit.

C. Antonius was defeated: granted: he had, so to speak, an evil reputation of his own.

Oppressus est C. Antonius: esto: habuit quandam ille infamiam suam.

Granted that it is hard not to be angry, yet you must not despair.

Est omnino difficile non graviter id ferre, sed frangi non oportet.

Granted there was a truce to fighting; yet recruiting was not stopped.

Ut quies certaminum erat, ita non ab apparatu hominum cessabatur.

¹ This is a relic of a primitive construction wherein sentences were co-ordinated, not subordinated to one another. See 51, 5.

VII. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

48. In all conditional sentences, where as elsewhere the principal has an effect upon the subordinate, the same mood (or its equivalent) and generally the same tense (but see 51) is used in both members. Hence arises the practical rule that we should first determine (not a difficult matter) the tense and mood of the apodosis or principal clause, and suit the protasis or subordinate to it.

(a) The indicative is used in all tenses (but the pluperfect is rare) where the action is stated formally as a fact, though really nothing is implied as to its occurrence or non-occurrence.

If this happens, I shall think I have not lived in vain.

Si hoc factum erit me satis vixisse putabo.

(b) The *primary* tenses of the subjunctive are used where an imaginary case in the *future* is put, though nothing is actually implied as to its occurrence or non-occurrence.

Daylight would fail me, did I wish to enumerate all the man's virtues.

Dies deficiat si velim omnes hominis virtutes recensere.

(c) The *historic* tenses of the subjunctive are used of actions known (1) *not to be occurring*, (2) *not to have occurred*.

To express (1) use the imperfect subjunctive only.

„ „ (2) „ imperfector pluperfect subjunctive.

If my judgment and authority had prevailed, you would be begging your bread, we should be free, and the state would not have lost so many leaders and armies.

Si meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus, respublica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset.

49. Conditions are (1) *general*; (2) *particular*:

(1) *General* conditions refer to acts which may occur, or have occurred, frequently; they are introduced in English by *if ever*, etc.

(2) *Particular* conditions refer to a definite act.

In Latin the rules given above, applying to particular conditions, apply also to general conditions: except that

(1) With the indefinite second person singular, the present and perfect (sometimes imperfect) subjunctive are found in general conditions where the corresponding indicatives would be written in particular conditions.

The mind is much like a metal: if you use it, it wears; if you do not, it rusts.

Mens prope uti ferrum est: si exerceas conteritur, nisi exerceas rubiginem contrahit.

(2) After Cicero, the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive are used instead of the imperfect and pluperfect indicative. (45.)

The accusers, wherever the chance occurred, were punished.
*Accusatores, si facultas incideret, poenis adfici-
bantur.*

50. Notice the following points in which the English requires careful translating, though ordinarily there is no need to go wrong, if you will think and apply the rules given.

(1) *If I do wrong, I will own it.*

Obviously not 'if I am doing wrong,' but 'if I shall be,' or 'shall have been doing wrong.' *Si peccabo (peccavero) fatebor.*

(2) *If I did wrong, I should own it.*

When? Either (a) in the past; *si peccavi faterer* (irregu-

larity (51); or (b) in the future, and less ambiguously = 'if I were to do wrong'; *si peccem (peccaverim) fatear*.

(3) English finds it awkward to use a phrase like 'had been doing wrong,' and almost impossible to use it in the passive voice, so that at the expense of accuracy the language is content to say 'had done wrong,' 'had been wronged.' Thus

'If I had done wrong, I should have owned it,'

may be said either, (a) of an action in progress, *si peccarem faterer*; or, (b) of an action completed, *si peccavissem fassus essem*.

(4) Where a negative is involved the following form should be noticed:

It does not follow that, if I consorted with cut-throats, I am one.

Non continuo, si me in gregem sicariorum contuli, sum sicarius.

It does not follow that if he did not embrace all their conclusions, he did not come out of their school.

Non, si omnia non sequebatur, idcirco non erat ortus illinc.

51. Irregularities.

(1) For the subjunctive various equivalents are found in the *apodosis*; (a) verbs denoting *necessity, propriety, duty, possibility*, with an infinitive; or (b) the auxiliary with gerundive; or (c) the future participle with *eram* or *fui*. (See Or. Obl. 57.)

If you had delayed a single day, all would have had to die.
Si unum diem morati essetis moriendum omnibus fuit.
All would have left their farms, if Metellus had not sent a despatch.

Relicturi agros omnes erant nisi Metellus litteras misisset.

The army might have been entirely annihilated, if the victors had pursued the flying foe.

Deleri totus exercitus potuit si fugientes persecuti victores essent.

(2) Absolute irregularities like the following should be very sparingly imitated: generally in those cases only where the English is itself irregular.

The matrons were coming, if it had been permissible.

Si licitum esset matres veniebant.

The bridge offered the enemy a way of approach, if it had not been for one heroic man.

Pons iter hostibus dedit ni unus vir fuisset.

Daylight will fail, supposing I wished to refute your arguments.

Dies deficient si velim argumenta tua refellere.

(3) The protasis is often concealed in a participle, adjective, adverbial phrase, relative sentence, etc.

I should readily bring myself to speak for Roscius, if that same man conducted the inquiry.

Facile me paterer, illo ipso iudice quaerente, pro Sexto Roscio dicere.

No one, if he had not a sure hope of immortality, would ever brave death for his country's sake.

Nemo unquam, nisi magna spe immortalitatis, se pro patria offerret ad mortem.

Philosophy, the which if a man were to obey, he might live all his life undisturbed.

Philosophia cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis suae sine molestia possit degere.

Conditional clauses can
be used in virtue of O.O.

[51]

(In this construction, there is
no apodosis, since the main
clause ~~does~~ does not in any
way depend on the fulfillment
non-fulfillment of the condition.)

is used in virtual

ulties, should they fail

graviter minatur.

ould rout the enemy.

set.

ed if he brought back

caput Masinissae
perf.)

d sentences are
ates the freedom

or a colloquial style, as an equivalent of protasis and
apodosis. (Cf. French, *Essayez et vous verrez.*)

Remove this belief, and you will remove cause for grief.

Tolle hanc opinionem : luctum sustuleris.

If you were to ask Aristotle, he would say no.

Roges enim Aristotelem : neget.

*Had you given this soul a body to match, he would have
done whatever he wished.*

Dedisses huic animo par corpus, fecisset quod optabat.

*Mark with what a face, with what assurance they speak ;
you will see then with what solemnity they speak.*

*Videte quo vultu, qua confidentia dicant ; tum
intelligetis qua religione dicant.*

Two clauses with *aut . . . aut* may be equivalent to a
form of condition ; as,

*I know nothing of fighting, of this kind of war, of this
enemy, if another spot is not to be rendered more
famous than Trasimene by our slaughter.*

*Aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem
hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno
locus nostris cladibus erit.*

52. A condition may be thrown into the shape of a clause introduced by *dum*, *dummodo*, *modo*, which always in a conditional sense take a subjunctive.

Let them hate, provided they fear.

Oderint dum metuant.

VIII. COMPARATIVE SENTENCES.

53. If we take the sentences—

(a) *He treated his son just as his father had treated him,*

(b) *He treated his son just as if he had not been his son,*

we notice that a fact is stated after 'just as' in (a), while in (b) it is followed by the protasis of a conditional sentence, the apodosis, 'he would have treated him,' being omitted.

In sentences of the (b) type the subjunctive, present and perfect in primary, imperfect and pluperfect in the historic sequence, is always found after the comparative particle, *si* being written or omitted.

It is the same as if you were to ask me.

Similiter facis ac si me roges.

The Samnite army drew up in battle array as though there would be no delay in engaging.

Samnitium exercitus velut haud ulla mora pugnae futura esset aciem instruit.

Notice the tense in the first example: in English we say 'as if you asked me,' but *ac si rogares* would be wrong, for the apodosis implied is *facias*: in fact, in deciding the tense we must think of the forms of conditional sentences.

The conjunctions in use in such sentences are *tanquam* (*si*), *quasi*, *ut* (*si*), *velut* (*si*), *quemadmodum* (*si*), *sicut*,

preceded often by such words as *ita*, *sic*, *tam*; add all kinds of correlation, *tantus—quantus (si)*, *talis—qualis (si)*: *ac si* is preceded by a variety of words, as *perinde*, *aeque*, *pariter*, *proinde*, *similiter* (with *similis* and like adjectives), *iuxta*, *aliter*, *contra*, *secus*, *diversus*, *contrarius*.

Notice a special elliptic use of *quasi* (*vero*, 86).

As if I minded that.

Quasi ego id curem.

As if these were like those.

Quasi vero haec illis similia sint.

In the (a) type of sentence the indicative is naturally used.

I fear that words cannot convey to the hearer my exact meaning.

Vereor ut hoc non perinde intelligi auditu possit atque ego ipse cogitans sentio.

There is the greatest possible difference in their habits.

Tanta est apud eos quanta maxima potest esse morum distantia.

The news was as grateful to the senate as any had ever been.

Grata ea res ut quae maxime senatui unquam fuit.

More corn than they had reaped was requisitioned from them.

Eis plus frumenti imperabatur quam quantum exararant.

I act contrary to my expressed intention.

Aliter atque ostenderam facio.

Sometimes a subjunctive *in its own right* is required:

He used me as he would have used a dog,

Me usus est sicut cane usus esset,

but generally, from the nature of the case, the verb is the same as the principal verb, and is not written.

The conjunctions in the (a) type are the same as for the (b) type, though the *si* is always absent. Notice, however, that *tanquam* and *quasi* are rather restricted to the service of the (b), *sicut* and *quemadmodum* to the (a) type.

54. Two contrasted statements are conveyed by *ut . . . sic, ut . . . ita, cum . . . tum* (see above, 47), as :

While you might have made a mistake, any one can see that you could not be taken in.

Ut errare potuisti, sic decipi te non posse quis non videt ?

55. Latin uses comparative clauses far more freely than we do ; a few of the more idiomatic usages are subjoined.

(1) *Ut* is employed in sentences where English might say ' considering,' ' for.'

These were old men, as age goes amongst the Romans.

Hi quidem, ut populi Romani aetas est, senes.

Well read for a Roman.

Multae quidem, ut in Romano homine, litterae.

For those times he was eloquent.

Multum ut temporibus illis valuit dicendo.

So *prout* :

His powers, for a mortal, were good enough.

Satis prout hominis facultates ferebant.

(2) *Ut* and *sicut* (always followed *immediately* by *est, sunt, etc.*) are used to introduce a characteristic, mostly of persons, as cause of an action.

They say that the man, being, as he was, a madman, so made answer.

Aiunt hominem, ut erat furiosus, respondisse.

Chrysippus collects many other instances, ransacking, as he does, every source of information.

Permulta alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia curiosus.

(3) *Ut* and *sicut* = 'as in fact.'

Granted that your men, as indeed is the fact, are great.
Sint nobis isti magni homines, ut sunt.

It was more a case of frightening than hoodwinking the enemy; and frightened they were.

Terrendi magis hostes erant quam fallendi; sicut territi sunt.

Granted that this is difficult to any one else, as indeed it is.
Id autem sit difficile ceteris, sicut est difficillimum.

(4) *Ut*, *prout*, etc., are used with *quisque* to denote 'proportion.'

Each man is involved in the disgrace, in proportion to his elevated position.

Ut quisque gradu proximus est, ita ignominiae obiectus.

In proportion as a man knows Greek he is a villain.

Ut quisque Graece optime scit, ita est nequissimus.

Men construed this as their disposition prompted.

Id prout cuiusque ingenium erat interpretabantur.

The less importance they attach to any one, the earlier they wish him to speak.

Ut in quoque eorum minimum putant esse, ita eum volunt primum dicere.

A man is estimated by his friends at his own figure.

Quanti quisque se facit, tanti fit ab amicis.

It is agreed to trust people according to their trustworthiness.

Quantum sit in quoque fidei, tantum cuique committere placet.

But notice that where a comparative appears, *quo*, not *ut*, is written.

The more learned a man is, the more careful his teaching.

Quo quisque est sollertior, hoc docet laboriosius.

- (5) Notice the use of *ut* in asseverations.

May I die if I am not ruining myself.

Ita vivam, ut maximos sumptus facio.

(6) *Quam* after a comparative (1) ordinarily takes the same construction as the verb of the principal clause; if the verb after it is the same as the principal verb, it is omitted, and in *oratio obliqua* the *subject* of the omitted verb is regularly attracted into the accusative (56).

It is prolonged further than is necessary.

Ultra quam satis est producitur.

Let us rather attack the enemy, than act ourselves on the defensive.

Nos potius hostem aggrediamur quam ipsi eum propulsemus.

But where (2) there is a sense of *avoidance, prevention, or intention*, generally the subjunctive is written.

Zeno suffered any torture rather than name his accomplices.

Zeno perpersus est omnia potius quam conscios indicaret.

I would rather bring Hannibal along with me than let him detain me.

Hannibalem ego potius traham quam ille me retineat.

Struggle to the last rather than be a slave.

Depugna potius quam servias.

To *quam* a relative or relative particle is often subjoined, the *indicative* or *subjunctive* being written in accordance with general rules.

In speaking, nothing is of more importance than that the audience should be well disposed to the speaker.

Nihil est in dicendo maius quam ut faveat oratori is qui audiet.

Their faults were too great to be pardoned.

Maiora deliquerant quam quibus ignosci posset.

More corn than they had reaped was requisitioned from them.

Eis plus frumenti imperabatur quam quantum exararant.

ORATIO OBLIQUA.

56. Few mistakes need be made if common sense is used; but notice, with regard to the *tenses* of the infinitive, that—

The Present denotes an action *simultaneous with* that of the principal verb.

The Perfect denotes an action *anterior to* that of the principal verb.

The Future denotes an action *subsequent to* that of the principal verb.

Thus, in 'he said he was at home when the messenger came,' if the *oratio recta* is 'I was at home,' etc., *i.e.* at some time *previous*, we write, 'dixit se domi *fuisse*, cum nuntius veniret'; but if the *oratio recta* = 'I am at home,' we write, 'dixit se domi *esse*.'

The only exception to this rule is in the case of an infinitive after *memini*; as,

I remember that Cato in the year before his death was talking with me and Scipio.

Memini Catonem anno ante quam est mortuus mecum et cum Scipione disserere.

In conditional sentences remember (1) that the apodosis of all future conditions (48) becomes future infinitive; (2) that the apodosis of conditions contrary to fact has the participle in *-urus* + *fuisse*, or *futurum fuisse* (*fore*) *ut* + imperfect subjunctive, the latter periphrasis being necessarily used when the verb is passive.

Sequence of Tenses.—The ordinary rules are in force, the sequence depending on the time of the verb of 'saying'; but by the graphic construction, to avoid monotony, we find the present subjunctive for imperfect, and still more commonly perfect for pluperfect.

Questions.—Generally, rhetorical questions, *i.e.* questions mostly in 1st and 3rd persons, asked without expectation of answer, particularly if they are statements under disguise, go into the infinitive. All others go into the subjunctive, and even rhetorical questions, if in close connection with a verb of asking. Deliberative questions remain in the subjunctive.

Moods.—The verbs of all subordinate clauses are in the subjunctive.

Sometimes, however, where a relative or relative particle is easily resolvable into *et* and a demonstrative, it may be followed by the infinitive.

The enactments which were made in their favour had so long been a dead letter, while the law passed to kill and torture them was put into immediate execution.

Iacere tam diu irritas sanctiones, quae de suis commodis ferrentur, quum interim de sanguine et supplicio suo latam legem confestim exerceri.

In this connection notice the *attraction* in comparative clauses (55), such as—

I expect that you are disturbed by the same thing that disturbs me.

Te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum commoveri.

Why? do you think Antonius spoke more threateningly than he would have acted?

Num putatis dixisse Antonium minacius quam facturum fuisse?

I averred that I would endure anything rather than leave Italy.

Affirmavi quidvis me potius perpessurum quam ex Italia exiturum.

In less continuous *oratio obliqua* it is not at all uncommon to find subordinate clauses included in it, having the verb in the indicative, especially where the air of unreality inseparable from the subjunctive is unsuitable and to be avoided.

Do you think you can make their actions seem as shameful to those who will hear you as they did to those who suffered them?

Putasne posse facere ut ea aequè indigna videantur esse his qui audient atque illis visa sunt qui senserunt?

[The same reversion to the indicative is found, if necessary, in cases where a verb, being dependent on another subjunctive or infinitive, would regularly be in the subjunctive itself, e.g. *si haec contra ac dico essent omnia, tamen*, etc.]

57. (1) Virtual *oratio obliqua* (where, without any formal dependence upon a word of 'saying,' *speech* or

thought is implied) is often very elegantly used. The examples following are very worthy of imitation. (51, 4.)

If he wished to do anything in this matter, I gave the opening.

Si quid de his rebus facere vellet, feci potestatem.

He made a reference about the murder, which he stated to have been committed in the Appian way.

Tulit de caede quae in Appia via facta esset.

He offered them his services if they should be hard pressed by the Suevi.

Eis auxilium suum pollicitus est si ab Suevis premerentur.

The stipulation against removal unless terms were agreed upon first, did violence to the contract.

Prohibitio tollendi nisi pactus esset, vim adhibebat pactioni.

(2) Often the passage into *oratio obliqua* is dependent upon an implied, but not expressed, verb of saying. The usage is very elegant, and should be copied.

Excelsa et alta sperare complexa verum iubet: (*she showed him*) Eam alitem, ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse.

Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: (*he said*) Haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen: an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum?

Thus it will be best to omit at the beginning (if possible), and in the course of the *oratio obliqua*, such formal expressions in the English as 'they stated,' 'they enlarged upon,' 'they added,' 'they hinted,' 'they concluded by,' making such compensation for them in the Latin as is necessary.

NOTES ON STYLE.

58. In writing Latin Prose we should aim at being (1) simple and direct, (2) distinct and definite, (3) terse and concise, (4) at expressing our thoughts in a logical shape, and (what is almost a necessary result) at securing beauty of 'form.'

I.—SIMPLICITY AND DIRECTNESS.

This is shown most strikingly by the avoidance of abstract expressions, which are replaced by concrete, and especially 'personal,' equivalents. Ambiguous expressions in English can thereby be rendered clear and intelligible. Below are given some typical instances.

- (1) *Passion is a fault rather of youth than of age.*
Libido magis est adulescentium quam senum.

And so with *a puero*, *a parvulis*, etc., and generally in indicating the *time of life* at which anything has been done.

- (2) *This war has been made at the suggestion of the Tarquini.*
Tarquiniis auctoribus hoc bellum illatum est.

Compare similar ablatives absolute with *dux*, *testis*, *interpres*, *comes*, *arbiter*, *iudex*, and the use of participles as *me referente*='on my motion'; *se absente*='in his own absence.'

- (3) *Some devoted themselves to poetry, some to geometry, some to music.*

Totos se alii ad poetas, alii ad geometras, alii ad musicos contulerunt.

Poetry does not concern itself with that.
Poetae in ea re non versantur.

Distress at one's own misfortunes betrays selfishness rather than friendship.

Suis incommodis graviter angī non amicum, sed se ipsum amantis est.

So

It is folly=*Stulti est.*

But it is unnecessary to give further illustrations of a common construction.

- (4) *Nor had Tarentum only, but Lucania, Bruttium, and Samnium revolted from us.*

Nec Tarentini modo, sed Lucanus et Bruttius et Samnis ab nobis defecerant.

Rome gave independence to Lycia and Caria.

Populus Romanus Lycios et Caras liberos esse iubebat.

- (5) *A cry of indignation rose from every part of the House.*
Fremitus indignantium tota curia erat.

This substantival use of the genitive plural of the present participle is very common : compare

The rashness of ill-considered assent=*levitas temere adsentientium.*

A cry of grief=*clamor dolentium.*

The difference of tradition=*diversitas tradentium.*

The words of wonder and curiosity.

Sermo partim admirantium, partim scire cupientium.

The participles may of course be utilised in many other ways.

- (6) Abstract adjectives can be represented by the genitives of concrete substantives. Thus,

Bodily (mental) suffering=*corporis (animi) dolor.*

The priestly code=*sacerdotum iura.*

Oral communication=*sermonis communicatio.*

Mathematical calculations=*mathematicorum ratio.*

Hereditary constitution=*maiorum leges atque instituta.*

Universal panic=*omnium terror.*

(7) The abstract modes of expression, common in modern languages, are avoided by periphrases which give the required meaning more simply.

The infinitive is often useful :

He announces the arrival of Caesar with all his forces.

Adesse Caesarem cum omnibus copiis nunciat.

Happiness he thus describes.

Beatum esse describit his verbis.

Diagoras totally denied the existence of gods.

Nullos esse omnino deos Diagoras putavit.

(8) Clauses introduced by relative and interrogative pronouns, or particles, etc., are even more common.

Will you maintain the justice of the action we condemn?

Id quod reprehenditur, recte factum esse defendes?

You did not disguise your feelings.

Quid sentires non dissimulasti.

The subject of discussion = ea quae disseruntur.

Aim or object = id quod est propositum.

Any advance I make = quicquid progredior.

Each has precedence in speaking according to his seniority.

Ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet.

They obtained permission to do this.

Hoc ut sibi liceret impetraverunt.

An answer was not wanting.

Non defuit quid responderetur.

This utterance too told strongly against Hostilia's acquittal.

Haec quoque vox valuit cur Hostilia damnaretur.

I care little for my reputation with the senate.

A senatu quanti fiam, minime me paenitet.

But every page of Latin will supply instances.

(9) The liking of Latin for the personal form of expression is seen in the rule that expressions like 'it is said,' 'it is related,' etc., when translated, become personal in form (4). Thus,

In the confusion it is said that Tullia fled the house.
Inter hunc tumultum dicitur Tullia domo profugisse.

(10) Instances of the same tendency are—

Often where the sum in question is trivial, it is demonstrated how unprincipled some people are.

Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves.

Another consideration has raised in you hopes of putting this man down.

Alia te ratio ad spem huius opprimendi excitavit.

This is the significance of Apollo's command to all, to know themselves.

Hanc habet vim praeceptum Apollinis quo monet ut se quisque noscat.

The last example is an instance of the disinclination of the Latin language to let a substantival clause depend upon a substantive directly; e.g.,

Arguments for the immortality of the soul.

Argumenta quibus animos mortales esse demonstratur.

But the reverse is sometimes the case; as,

Some soldiers were heard to say that they would march if led against the enemy,

Nonnullae militum voces audiri, sese contra hostes, si ducerentur, ituros,



especially when a demonstrative accompanies the substantive; as,

That belief, that the one was not very learned, the other quite unlearned.

Illa opinio, alterum non doctissimum, alterum plane indoctum fuisse.

Or when the substantive + a verb = a verb *sentendi* or *declarandi*:

A strong expectation was entertained that the Parthians would advance,

Erat magna suspicio Parthos iter esse facturos,

which is equivalent in sense to *vulgo credebantur Parthi*, etc.

59. But the avoidance of abstracts must not be carried to excess. The occasional and appropriate use of them often conduces to clearness and terseness of expression, due emphasis, liveliness, variety.

- (1) *The horseman, they affirmed, had in six days covered the length of Italy.*

Illum equitem aiebant sex dierum spatio transcurrisse longitudinem Italiae.

Fortune has punished my rash act as quickly as I feared.

Non celerius quam timui deprehendit fortuna temeritatem.

It is better to live among wild beasts than to be conversant with men so barbarous.

Inter feras satius est aetatem degere quam in hac tanta immanitate versari.

If I have used too much freedom of speech, my youth may be my excuse.

Ego si quid liberius dixero, adulescentiae mihi poterit ignosci.

No one, however poor and friendless, was debarred from approaching.

Nullius inopia ac solitudo accessu excludebatur.

Scarcely any one, succeeding the beloved Hiero, could have been popular.

Vix ulli facilis favor erat, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis.

The province was full of lictors and officers.

Plena erat lictorum et imperiorum provincia.

(2) Some abstracts are used regularly, even in the place of concrete substantives, as *servitia*, *latrocinium*, *vicinitas*, *nobilitas*, *coniuratio*; and expressions like *tale ingenium* = *homo talis ingenii*, *haec aetas* = *adolescentes huius aetatis* are not uncommon.

(3) The impersonal construction too is very frequent in Latin, especially with certain verbs, as *curro*, *cedo*, *sentio*, and their compounds, *consurgo*, *debello*, *pugno*, *descisco*, *despero*, *conclamo*, *festino*, etc.; but when this construction is used mention of any particular individual is for the most part implicitly excluded; as in,

*If the matter concerning the gardens of Silius is arranged,
I mean if you arrange it, for all depends on you.*

Si perficitur de hortis Silii, hoc est si perficis, est enim totum positum in te.

II.—DISTINCTNESS AND DEFINITENESS.

60. The wish of the Latin mind to be clear and distinct in the expression of its thought is manifest in various ways.

(1) A word is unnecessarily repeated.

They settle a day for the meeting.

Diem dicunt quo die convenient.

Looking for a reason, I found these.

Cum causam quaererem, has causas inveniebam.

The day after (before).

Postridie (pridie) eius diei.

The peace you describe is itself happiness.

Ista animi tranquillitas, ea est ipsa vita beata.

(2) But this generally occurs where an *opposition* is to be emphasised ; as,

Quam molestiam debeat capere, non capiunt : eam
capiunt qua debeat vacare ;
Rationes defuerunt, ubertas orationis non defuit ;
Hoc cum populus Romanus meminerit, me ipsum
non meminisse turpissimum est ;—

in all of which cases the repetition of the verb is unavoidable, as *non* could not stand without it.

(3) A distinctive verb is added to a substantive where we might use a verb of more general application.

The state would have remained in the same condition.
Respublica eodem stetitset statu.
You have made a first step towards freedom.
Prima incohastis initia libertatis vestrae

And so—

To be victorious = *superiorem discedere.*
To be despised = *neglectum iacere.*
To be hidden = *abditum latere.*

(4) An explanatory link is supplied between a substantive, and what in English is put in immediate connection with it :

Traces that he had been there,
Vestigia quibus apparebat eum ibi fuisse,
A letter to Lucceius,
Epistola ad Lucceium scripta,
The war with Germany,
Bellum cum Germanis gestum,

though this link can be dispensed with where the verbal action is inseparable from the substantive, as in *fuga ab urbe* ; *reditus in gratiam* ; *benevolentia*, *studium*,

ira, in aliquem; and in any case the rule is not strictly observed.

(5) A distinguishing object is supplied to a verb.

To dazzle our minds=*praestringere aciem animorum nostrorum.*

To corrupt the jury=*iudicum sententias corrumpere.*

To disbelieve one's ears=*suarum aurium fidei minimum credere.*

To make the soldiery uneasy=*animos militum perturbare.*

To make a man better=*mores alicuius corrigere.*

Suspicion being thus aroused=*hoc initio suspicionis orto.*

(6) A distinguishing genitive is supplied to a substantive. The cases in which Latin is more explicit than English in this matter are very common, the addition of *rerum* being specially frequent. We find *rerum* attached to *desperatio, inopia, ignoratio, causa, potentia, inscitia, exitus, successus, motus*, etc.:

pain=*corporis (animi) dolor.*

quickness=*mobilitas animi.*

hesitation, stammering=*haesitantia linguae.*

dullness=*stupor cordis.*

(7) Certain adjectives, such as *dignus, indignus, idoneus, peritus, imperitus, studiosus*, etc., the English equivalents of which are employed without qualification, need some addition unless it is obviously implied by the context.

If an adequate punishment can be discovered.

Si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur.

(8) The duplication of substantives, verbs, and, less commonly, adjectives, tends to express an idea more

fully. The following instances are given amongst a large number :

Laus et gloria—vis et necessitas—spectator atque testis—victus et cultus—levitas et iactatio—fraus ac vanitas—ignominia et calamitas—gravitas et severitas—portus et perfugium—veri inquisitio et investigatio—ratio numerusque—labes et perniciēs—consensus concentusque—bonitas et beneficentia—fundere ac fugare—instare et urgere—divellere ac distrahere—perpeti et perferre—frangere et debilitare—frangi et comminui—delinire et corrumpere—investigare et consequi—reconditus et abstrusus—mollis tenerque—debitus iam destinatusque morti—sponte et ultro—temere et fortuito.

(9) Words of wide meaning, such as *genus*, *ratio*, etc., are used far more extensively than similar words in English.

He made up his army of unconquered veterans.

Exercitum ex invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit.

To be possessed of every virtue.

Omni genere virtutis florere.

To be a bar to friendship.

Impedire rationem amicitiae.

A temple completely unharmed.

Templum omni opere integrum.

Language unsuited to the law-court.

Oratio aliena ab iudiciorum ratione.

(10) The addition of participles makes a phrase more explicit than the corresponding English.

On shields = caetris suppositis.

In a ship = nave exceptus.

On their knees = nixi genibus.

On horseback = equo insidens.

In a chariot = curru vectus.

After a few days = paucis diebus interpositis (-iectis).

In representing such phrases as 'through pity, love,' etc., a participle is regularly employed in Latin; as, *miseri-cordia adductus, amore impulsus*: the participles mostly used being these and *ductus, motus, excitatus, incensus, accensus*.

(11) Similarly, 'through' or 'by,' with persons, may be with advantage to the sense represented by *opera, consilio, gratia, auxilio, beneficio*, in combination with a possessive pronoun or a genitive.

(12) The employment of certain phrases must be noted as, *est (facio, committo, fit, accedit) ut; unde efficitur ut*, etc.

Several philosophers leave behind them no system of rhetoric.

Est ut plerique philosophi nulla tradant praecepta dicendi.

Do not think that I do not write myself from laziness.

Nolite putare pigritia me facere quod non mea manu scribam.

It will be noticed how these phrases and others, like *is sum qui, nemo est qui, nihil est quod*, lend themselves to the marking of emphasis.

(13) Latin is far more accurate than English in the use of the tenses. Notice this in the case of the futures:

I hope to be successful,

Spero me hoc adsecuturum,

If we take Nature for our guide, we shall never go astray,

Naturam si sequemur ducem, nunquam aberrabimus,

Any one who crushes Antonius will have finished the war,

Qui Antonium oppresserit, is bellum confecerit,

and of the participles. The English present often denotes a *past action*, while the Latin present participle cannot.

Attacking the enemy, he put the wavering mass to flight.
Fluctuantem hostium turbam adortus fugavit.

And care must be taken in translating the English past participle passive to see if it is really a *past*. If not, a relative clause must be employed, though the inconvenience was felt so much by the Romans themselves that in certain words of common occurrence the past participle is used even where the time is present, e.g., *obsessi*=*ii qui obsidentur*; *amatus, dilectus*=*is qui amatur, diligitur*, besides their proper *past* meanings. Ordinarily, however, the very poverty of Latin in participles makes it more explicit.

The Achaeans, being allies of the Romans, sent them aid.
Achaei cum Romanorum socii essent auxilia miserunt.

The Morini, having no means of retreat, fell into Labienus' power.

Morini cum quo se reciperent non haberent in potestatem Labieni venerunt.

(14) Latin is more accurate too in the use of *number*.

The doctor having discovered the cause of the disease, thinks that the means of cure is discovered.

Medici causa morbi inventa curationem inventam putant.

So

Law and morality=*leges moresque*,

Day and night = *dies noctesque*,

and especially where the 'eyes' and 'ears,' etc., are mentioned:

To delight eye and ear=*aures et oculos delectare*.

To set out on foot = *iter ingredi pedibus*.

(15) Often Latin cannot represent an English substantive, except by a compound expression.

<i>Problem</i>	=res proposita.
<i>Civilisation</i>	=vita exulta.
<i>Archives</i>	=memoria publica.
<i>Barricades</i>	=intersaepta itinera.
<i>Friendliness</i>	=voluntas amica.
<i>Certainty</i>	=certa fides.
<i>Contentedness</i>	=aequitas animi.
<i>Socialism</i>	=aequatio bonorum.
<i>Patriotism</i>	=reipublicae studium.
<i>Calendar</i>	=compositio anni.
<i>Chronology</i>	=ratio temporum.
<i>In practice</i>	=in rebus atque usu.
<i>Consequences</i>	=eventus qui sequuntur.
<i>Statesmen</i>	=qui in republica versantur.
<i>Earthquakes</i>	=terrae motus.

III.—TERSENESS AND CONCISENESS.

61. *Ellipse* is far more frequent in Latin than in English. Besides those cases like 'Ne illam quidem consequuntur quam putant gratiam,' where the word required is easily supplied from the context, we find ellipses—

(1) In proverbial or colloquial phrases: *Dii meliora. Quid multa? Ne multis. Sed haec hactenus. Quid? Quid? quod . . . Mirum quantum, etc.*

(2) In proverbial expressions, as *quot homines, tot sententiae*—*summum ius summa iniuria*.

(3) In marked antitheses: *sed haec leviora, illa vero gravia atque magna—sed haec leviora fortasse, illud quaero—num igitur horum senectus miserabilis?*

(4) In the *didactic* style: *cognitionis autem tres modi—habenda ratio valetudinis: utendum modicis exercitationibus.*

(5) In *sketches, enumeration of details and delineation of character*:—

(a) Age nunc iter expediti latronis cum Milonis impedimentis comparate: semper ille antea cum uxore, tum sine ea: nunquam non in rheda, tum in equo: comites Graeculi quocumque ibat, tum nugarum in comitatu nihil.

(b) Corpus patiens inediae, alboris, vigiliae, supra quam cuiquam credibile est: animus audax, subdolus, varius, cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator. Alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum.

(6) Of verbs of 'saying' and 'doing,' especially in dialogue and the epistolary style:

Caepius olim; non omnibus dormio—Fabius ad collegam misit, exercitu opus esse—Uberius ista, quaeso—Tum ille: Finem, inquit, interrogandi, si videtur—Sed id alias: nunc id quod instat—Sed non necesse est nunc omnia—Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide—Per biduum nihil aliud quam steterunt parati.

(7) Also words of 'coming' and 'going':

And so all came to Piso at the time appointed.

Itaque ad tempus ad Pisonem omnes.

(8) After comparatives, etc. (*comparatio compendiaria*).

Compare now Sulla's life with theirs.

Conferte nunc cum illis vitam P. Sullae.

Witness Phalaris, whose cruelty is more notorious than that of any others.

Testis est Phalaris cuius est praeter ceteros nobilitata crudelitas.

(9) Of explanatory words or sentences with *ut, ne, si, nisi, praesertim cum* ('and that too when' or 'especially since'), *siquidem* ('yes, if'), *an* (giving an alternative to an unexpressed question), *nam* and *enim* (supplying a reason for an omission).

That you may understand, I must tell you that Varro came to us the moment he arrived.

Ut hoc intelligas, cum primum Varro venit, ad nos se contulit.

Hannibal visited Africa to see if he could bring the Carthaginians to declare war.

Hannibal Africam accessit si forte Carthaginienses ad bellum inducere posset.

(10) English substantives like *question, belief, theory, point, expression, resolution, means, end, object, purpose, feeling, result, source*, are often omitted, especially after verbs, in translating into Latin, being represented by a neuter pronoun, etc., only.

We have this belief implanted in our breasts.

Insitum illud in animis habemus.

These are the theories of mathematicians.

Sunt ea mathematicorum.

So

I have this feeling=hoc sentio.

Elected for the very purpose=ad id ipsum creati.

Will you take refuge in that plea?=an tu illuc confugies?

I make this my sole aim=hoc unum sequor.

Posidonius argued this point=P. de hoc disputavit.

Things which are a means for effecting a revolution=quae res evertendae reipublicae sunt.

Apprehensions are entertained=timent (homines).

(11) So with conjunctions: 'on condition that'=*si*; 'with the limitation that'=*ita . . . ut*; 'with the exception (difference) that'=*nisi quod, praeterquam quod, excepto si*.

(12) Modal English verbs not unfrequently disappear in Latin.

I cannot find (see)=*non invenio (cerno)*.

The Rhone can be crossed by a ford=*Rhodanus vado transitur*.

I was not inclined to be consoled=*consolatione non utebar*.

He had to forego his country=*patria carebat*.

I will not deny=*non infitior*.

I feel (find, see) myself compelled=*cogor*.

He knew how to preserve his dignity.

Dignitatem suam bene tuebatur.

He saw he must fight, if he was to bring in supplies.

Pugnandum esse, si frumentum importaret, videbatur.

This fault ought to have been passed over.

Hoc vitium sileretur.

You should have resisted, fought, died fighting.

Restitisses, repugnasses, mortem pugnans oppetisses.

I think that there ought to be two consuls in the state.

Duo consules in republica esse censeo.

(13) So the notions of 'getting done' and 'letting be done' are often left unexpressed, especially in such verbs as *damno, condemno, comperendino, multo* (of the accuser), *obrogo*, etc. (of the proposer).

Brutus got his colleague Collatinus superseded.

Collatino collegae Brutus imperium abrogabat.

To demand a fine and get it inflicted.

Multam inrogare et iudicare.

(14) Pronouns are omitted.

I hear you will state that you were quaestor under him.
Dicturum te esse audio quaestorem illius fuisse.

He said that he was extremely vexed that I was defending Murena against him.

Gravissime et acerbissime ferre dixit me causam L.
Murenæ contra se defendere.

(15) And prepositions.

Does age debar from business? From what business?
A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit? Quibus?

You were plunged into grief as great as any one.
In luctum detrusus es quantum nemo unquam.

(16) The cumbrous methods employed in English for obtaining emphasis mostly disappear in Latin (yet see 60, 12), the desired result being generally gained by position.

As to credit, there are two ways to secure its being given.
Fides autem ut habeatur, duabus rebus effici potest.

You perhaps did more wisely in leaving the city you had freed.

Vos fortasse sapientius excessistis urbe ea quam liberaratis.

That is the highest power which is put in the hands of an officer of the state.

Ea potestas magistratui maxima permittitur.

It is their own failings, their own shortcomings, that fools lay to the charge of age.

Sua vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt.



(17) Sometimes in striving to be brief, Latin becomes obscure.

The delay of Sabinus on the preceding days.

Superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio.

A battle took place, more bloody than the numbers engaged could warrant.

Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur.

Be embarrassed by want of forage.

Pabulatione, (re frumentaria, etc.) premi.

Anxiety for my safety has brought all Italy to my aid.

Salus mea Italiae concursus concitavit.

The senses supply our only criteria.

Omne iudicium positum est in sensibus.

If not only no claim for exemption founded on work done, but no plea of rank or age, excuses me from exertion.

Si me non modo non rerum gestarum vacatio sed neque honoris neque aetatis excusatio vindicat a labore.

The evil was more widespread than had been thought.

Latius opinione malum disseminatum est.

Spe, expectatione, iusto, aequo, solito, necessario, are similarly employed.

(18) The same kind of obscurity is introduced where the logical moment of a sentence is dependent upon an adjective.

Another view makes the essence of friendship consist in a balance of good offices and intentions.

Altera sententia est quae definit amicitiam paribus officiis et voluntatibus.

Though an eminent orator pleading for a friend on his trial, Hortensius made no reply.

Nobis pro familiari reo summus orator non respondit Hortensius.

(19) Prepositional phrases occasionally imply more than appears on the surface.

He saw, even while admitting the fact, that a defence was possible on a point of law.

Vidit etiam in confessione facti, iuris defensionem suscipi posse.

He did not refuse to bear the whole brunt of any danger.
Ad omnia pericula princeps esse non recusabat.

He wrote three books in dialogue form.
Scripsit tres libros in dialogo.

He had given these to the ambassadors as their instructions.

Haec legatis in mandatis dederat.

(20) Certain verbs too have a pregnant meaning.

There are other actions of yours which I will maintain to be good and kind.

Alia sunt quae defendam a te pie fieri et humane.

The importance of the war was by no means what report had magnified it into.

Nequaquam tantum belli fuit quantum auxerat fama.

Other verbs commonly used in this way are *purgo* and *excuso* ('plead as excuse'), *evigilo* ('produce by care'), *complere* ('add to make complete'), *liberor* (with accusative and infinitive='be acquitted of having' . . .).

IV.—LOGICAL EXPRESSION AND BEAUTY OF FORM.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF WORDS.

62. The natural order is Subject, Object, Verb. All else in the sentence groups itself nearer to subject or predicate

in accordance with its *logical* connection. Latin is more logical than English in this respect. We say,

Caesar marched after the Helvetii with all his forces,

but the Latin arrangement is

Caesar cum omnibus copiis Helvetios sequi coepit.

So

Dumnorix was a great power among the Sequani owing to his interest and his bribes.

Dumnorix gratia atque largitione apud Sequanos plurimum valebat.

Roughly speaking, attributes, genitives, words in apposition, come after the word to which they are attached, but custom introduces variation, and if the attribute, etc., is the essential part of the combination it may come first, e.g., *Cicero consul* is the natural order; *consul Cicero* indicates that the office is emphasised.

63. (1) The first and last places in the sentence, if the word does not naturally belong there, are most effective for giving emphasis.

Your designs are clearer than day to us.

Luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia.

Justice is desirable for its own sake.

Per se ius est expetendum.

With which compare

I care for your dignity independently.

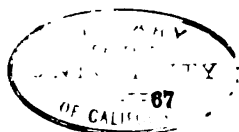
Tua dignitas mihi est cara per se.

To your great harm.

Summa cum tua iniuria.

They had no other way.

Aliud iter habebant nullum.



Emphasis is gained at both ends in

Necessitatis inventa antiquiora sunt quam voluptatis.

Notice specially cases like

Vix ut arma retinere possent.

Nihil ut de commodis suis cogitarent.

Sic si ageres, neminem ut praetermitteres.

Non si tibi ea res grata fuisset, esset etiam probata.

(2) Emphasis is often gained by the interpolation of a less important word between two to be emphasised, the reason being that Latin avoids emphasising two consecutive words.

This is the grief that torments me.

Hic me dolor angit.

Tum ille fidenter homo peritissimus confirmare ita se rem habere.

Puerorum formas magno hic opere mirabatur.

Videsne quam sit magna dissensio ?

Quam autem civitati carus fuerit.

(3) Also by the collocation of two associated or contrasted words :

Cives civibus parcere aequum est.

Sublato tyranno tyrannida manere video.

Imponenda sunt nova novis rebus nomina.

Mea me ambitio abstrahebat.

Uterque utrique cordi est.

(4) And particularly by Chiasmus, i.e. a 'cross-wise' arrangement, a development of this :

Fragile corpus animus sempiternus movet.

*Non video quomodo sedare possint mala praesentia
praeteritae voluptates.*

For the extension of this to the period form see 77.

64. Notice the following un-English orders :

Quos ad sumptus—Ista in re (*but* ob eam causam).

Tumulus, quem proximum Gallis capere potuit.

Quae pertineat ad earum rerum, quibus utuntur homines, facultates.

Per ego te, fili, quaecumque iura liberos iungunt parentibus, precor.

In ante dies octavum et septimum Kal. Octobres comitiis dicta dies.

Tum Crassus adridens : Quid censes, inquit, Cotta ?

POSITION OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

65. (1) Consecutive sentences are postponed.

(2) Final sentences and indirect questions ordinarily follow the principal sentence ; but notice the influence of emphasis in—

Libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat.

De humatione et sepultura Socrates quid senserit, apparet in eo libro in quo moritur.

(3) Temporal clauses regularly precede. Yet notice the reverse in the use of *ante* . . . *quam*, and of *dum* where ‘an end waited for’ is implied.

(4) Causal sentences precede ; but *non quo*, *non quia* . . . *sed* (*quod*) follow.

Non soleo temere contra Stoicos disputare, non quo illis admodum assentior, sed pudore impedior.

(5) Concessives precede, and so do conditionals unless brought in as an afterthought.

Pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir
fuisset, Horatius Cocles.

(6) Comparative sentences mostly precede, unlike the English custom. Arrangements like

quemadmodum . . . sic

ut . . . sic

quo . . . eo

are very common: but a clause with *quam* follows the comparative to which it is attached.

RELATIVE CLAUSES.

66. The handling and treatment of the relatives is a most important part of Latin prose, and special attention should be directed to it.

(1) The normal position of the relative is immediately after its antecedent, as in

Aberat omnis dolor, qui, si adesset, non molliter
ferret.

(2) But this is not the case when it = *et, nam, etc.*, as at the beginning of a sentence; or where the relative sentence introduces something parenthetically or not in essential relation to the rest of the sentence; as,

Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur
ex Asia quotidie litterae, quorum magnae res
aguntur in vestris vectigalibus occupatae, qui
ad me . . . causam reipublicae periculaque
rerum suarum detulerunt, Bithyniae vicos esse
exustos complures.

Often the relative at the beginning of a sentence has an adversative force = *sed is*, especially when used to introduce the answer in an argumentative passage.

Ipsæ comitia in quem diem primum potuit edixit:
quæ (*and yet they*) certamine inter tribunos
dictatoremque iniecto perfici non potuerunt.

Cuius illi partis essent rogare. Populares? Quid
enim eos per populum egisse? Optimates?
Qui (*yet they*) anno iam prope senatum non
habuerint?

(3) Any word which it is required to emphasise in the relative sentence may precede the relative.

Nemo est, tibi qui suadere sapientius possit.

Sed vos squalidius: illorum vides quam splendeat
oratio.

(4) Where the antecedent in English is in apposition to a substantive or sentence, it appears in Latin in the relative sentence.

*Corn from abroad, our only supply, which fortune has
unexpectedly given.*

Peregrinum frumentum, quæ sola alimenta ex in-
sperato fortuna dederit.

*I wish him then to know all about speaking, a thing
which can be taught in two ways.*

Volo igitur huic omnem loquendi rationem esse
notam: quæ quidem res duplicem habet docendi
viam.

But

In Isara, flumine maximo quod in finibus est Allo-
brogum,

for the words *flumine maximo* are too emphatic to be merged in the relative clause.

(5) Where there is an antithesis between the relative and principal clause, or where the antecedent is to be specially emphasised, the principal clause and antecedent follow the relative.

Qui dolorem summum summum malum dicat, apud eum quem habet locum fortitudo ?

Quam quisque novit artem, in hac se exerceat.

Tempus est huiusmodi ut ubi quisque sit, ibi esse minime velit.

Domumne miser se vertet, ut eam imaginem clarissimi viri, parentis sui, quam paucis ante diebus laureatam in sua gratulatione conspexit, eandem deformatam ignominia lugentemque videat ?

67. The facility for concise translation afforded by the double relative construction or the combination of two subordinating particles—a construction foreign to the genius of the English language—is very great. The following typical examples should be carefully studied.

That alone is the good, the possession of which makes a man happy.

Id bonum solum est, quo qui potiaturne necesse est beatus sit.

Do you call in question the action of Rabirius in associating with men whom he would have been mad to fight with, dishonourable to abandon ?

Hoc tu in crimen vocas, quod cum iis fuerit C. Rabirius, quos amentissimus fuisset si oppugnasset, turpissimus si reliquisset ?

There were many natural gifts in default of which an orator would not gain much from a master.

Esse permulta quae orator ab natura nisi haberet, non multum a magistro adiuvaretur.

Nisi vereor ne ea cognosceres absens, quae quia non vides, mihi videris meliore esse condicione quam nos, qui videmus.

An adolescentem discere ea mavis, quae cum praeclare didicerit nihil sciat ?

Quem enim possumus appellare eum nisi hostem contra quem qui exercitus ducunt, iis senatus arbitratur singulares exquirendos honores ?

Cui cum esset nuntiatum surrexit.

The interrogative, direct or indirect, is also combined with conjunctions.

Veniamus in forum : sessum it praetor : quid ut iudicetur ?

Ipsos claudendo portas iudicasse Hispanos, quid ut timerent meriti essent.

Sine ulla sede vagi dimicassetus, ut quo victores nos reciperemus ?

The relative often attaches itself to a participle and not to the principal verb of its sentence.

Consider by what exertions that empire was founded, by what heroism that freedom was established, which one night has almost destroyed.

Cogitate quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem una nox paene deleverit.

68. When two relative clauses are co-ordinated usually no conjunction is used in Latin.

Your letters, of which I have read a sample, and which you gave me for him.

Litterae tuae quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum dedisti.

So

Cum Cato percussus esset ab eo qui arcam ferebat,
cum ille diceret, Cave, rogavit, etc.

(This usage must not be confused with Anaphora, 84.)
Or, and particularly if the second relative would have been in a different case, a demonstrative with *que* or *et* is employed, the idiom being thus like both English and Greek.

Species pulcritudinis eximia quaedam quam intuens
in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem
et manum dirigebat.

69. Relative particles are, as often in French, used frequently for relative adjectives.

When he was dead there would be no one from whom to learn.

Illo extincto fore unde discerem neminem.

Neque nobis adhuc praeter te quisquam fuit, ubi
nostrum ius contra illos obtineremus.

Apud eos quo se contulit.

70. Notice lastly how Latin employs the relative clause more logically than English, rarely making it carry the chief burden of the sentence. Thus English can say

He asked for help, which he obtained,

but in Latin we must translate

Auxilium quod rogavit adeptus est.

THE PERIOD.

71. A Period consists of a principal and at least one subordinate clause intimately associated with it by sense and position ; but the period of which we speak is a complex sentence of considerably greater compass.

It is more largely used in Latin than in English, in which the logical instinct is less lively. But the employment of it in Latin is subject to many restrictions. Too continuous a series of long periods is to be avoided lest monotony be incurred. And they will be obviously inappropriate in familiar or epistolary¹ style, in dialogue, in argument, and in didactic scientific language.

A few notable examples of the Period are subjoined.

(1) *In the confusion that at first ensued, Numitor raised the cry that the enemy had forced their way into the city and attacked the palace, and drew off the men of Alba to secure the citadel with an armed guard. But as soon as he saw the young men approaching, glorying in the success of their crime, he lost no time in summoning a council, and made them acquainted with the crimes which his brother had committed against him, and the parentage of his nephews, how they had been born, how reared, and how made known to him. Not till then did he avow that the king had been slain, and that the responsibility was his.*

Numitor inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato consilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit.

(2) *While the others were busy weeping, Brutus drew the dagger from Lucretia's wound, held it up dripping with her blood, and*

¹ Often, however, a letter opens with a period of considerable length : see example (4).

cried, '*By this blood, I swear, this which, till the prince's violence, ran pure,*' etc.

Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens, Per hunc, inquit, castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro.

(3) Etenim cum a clarissimis viris iustissimas inimicitias saepe cum bene meritis civibus depositas esse vidissem, non sum arbitratus quemquam amicum reipublicae, posteaquam L. Flacci amor in patriam perspectus esset, novas huic inimicitias nulla accepta iniuria denuntiaturum.

(4) Etsi, quantum ex tuis litteris intelligere potui, videbam te hanc epistolam, cum ad urbem esses, esse lecturum, refrigerato iam levissimo sermone hominum provincialium, tamen, cum tu tam multis verbis ad me de improborum oratione scripsisses, faciendum mihi putavi ut tuis litteris brevi respondeam.

(5) Quodsi e portu solventibus ii, qui iam in portum ex alto invehuntur, praecipere summo studio solent et tempestatum rationem et praedonum et locorum, quod natura fert, ut eis faveamus, qui eadem pericula, quibus nos perfuncti sumus, ingrediantur, quo tandem me esse animo oportet prope iam ex magna iactatione terram videntem in hunc, cui video maximas rei publicae tempestates esse subeundas?

(6) Si nihil est quod tam miseros faciat, quam impietas et scelus, ut iam omnes insipientes sint miseri, quod profecto sunt, non est tamen aequè miser qui patriae consulit, et is qui illam extinctam cupit.

I.

72. The Period must possess unity.

(a) It must move to some definite point, some central action or statement round which the attendant circumstances will group themselves in a natural and logical

connection. It requires some consideration to select our principal verb when throwing several English sentences into one Latin period, but it will rarely be found difficult to see what is the most important and central statement made, and how the remaining sentences are related to it.

Notice the periods in pieces IX. XVII. XXII. XXV. XXVII. XXXIII. etc. etc.

73. In case it is convenient, no hesitation need be felt in interfering with the division of an English sentence.

Compare pieces X. XII. XX. XXI. XXIII. XXX, etc. etc.

74. (b) It will help greatly towards maintaining unity if we can make the subject of the verb selected as principal verb be dominant in the sentence, and be subject to several of the subordinate clauses as well. Thus the sentence—

A boy ought to be trained in those branches of knowledge, an early familiarisation with which will fit him better to face graver tasks,

becomes in Latin

Puer informari debet iis artibus, quas si dum tener est combiberit, ad maiora veniet paratior.

(1) If there is a common subject to the principal and subordinate clause it will be placed first, unlike the English custom.

If the exaltation of spirit which is observable in dangers is unaccompanied by justice, it is a defect.

Ea animi elatio quae cernitur in periculis, si iustitia vacat, in vitio est.

Notice in the first two examples of the period (pp. 74, 5) the way in which the subject is put on the threshold of the sentence, that the reader may at the first glance grasp its application.

- (2) So it is with a common object.

If opportunity favours the alteration we shall effect it more easily.

*Eam mutationem, si tempora adiuva-
bunt, facilius faciemus.*

*As soon as the natives saw that he had escaped the fire,
they shot at him from a distance till they killed him.*

*Hunc, ut barbari incendium effugisse viderunt, telis
eminus missis interfecerunt.*

- (3) If the object of the principal sentence is subject of a subordinate sentence, the former is put early, followed immediately by the latter.

Pomponius impeached Manlius after he had been dictator.

*L. Manlio, cum dictator fuisset, M. Pomponius
diem dixit.*

*When the Cretans sent an embassy to Pompeius, he did
not discourage hopes of surrender.*

*Pompeius Cretensibus, cum ad eum legatos misis-
sent, spem deditionis non ademit.*

- (4) If the subject of the principal clause is object of the subordinate, it is represented in the latter by a pronoun.

*Though all his audience had left Antimachus, 'Notwith-
standing,' he said, 'I will read.'*

*Antimachus cum eum omnes auditores deseruis-
sent, Nihilo minus, inquit, legam.*

Notice the form when a relative is involved.

Cui cum esset nuntiatum surrexit.

Notice in all the above cases how Latin retains the names of persons and things in the main sentence and does not allow them to be sided in subordinate sentences.

75. In order that the expression of thought in the period should be clear, and that the period should be no mere aggregate of members but a perfect body, the subordinate sentences employed should be so arranged that each should be in appropriate connection with its neighbour, and that the logical sequence of events should be preserved. An examination of the periods given above (71) will show that the clauses are so arranged in them, and that no alteration of the order would be an improvement. The rules given in 65 recognise this tendency to a logical arrangement.

But Latin allows a very wide licence in the arrangement, especially where there are two subordinate sentences (co-ordinate with one another or one subordinated again to the other) and a principal one; this is more particularly the case where one is a dependent question. We have

Cuius rei quae sit consuetudo, quoniam apud homines
peritissimos dico, pluribus verbis docere non
debeo.

Cur nolint, etiamsi taceant, satis dicunt.

Quid afferres novi cum ignorarem, servum ad te misi.

Servum quid afferres novi cum ignorarem ad te misi.

So where it is required to emphasise any portion of a clause the flexibility of the Latin is admirably adapted for the purpose.

Primum ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum
interdum afferat hominibus fastidi.

Alterius vero partis nihil amplius dicam quam
id quod omnes verebatur, nimis iracundam
futuram fuisse victoriam.

Ciceronem tantum abest ut reprehendam.

Quae vix coniectura qualia sint possumus suspicari.

76. Monotony is to be avoided by varying the lengths of the different periods, the form and nature of the subordinate clauses involved, and the constructions and phrases employed. A glance again at the examples given in 71 will amply illustrate the variation of the subordinate clauses. Notice especially the use in the first example of the substantives *scelera*, *originem*, *caedem*, *auctorem* instead of sentences with verbs.

A very useful instance of the alternation of *oratio recta* and *obliqua* is—*Non tibi defuisse* (Tanaquil says) *cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet; 'Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello.'*

The variation of construction and phrase is seen in the synonyms employed in Cicero's *de Amicitia* for the rupture of friendship. We have, *amicitias remissione usus eluere*, *alienationem disiunctionemque facere*, *amicitias deponere*, *ab amicitia se remove*, *amicitias disrumpere*, *amicorum discidia*, *extincta amicitia*.

77. Apart from the charms of the diction employed, the beauty of a period, or a combination of periods, is secured by attention (1) to balance and proportion, (2) to harmony and rhythm.

(1) Balance and proportion.

(a) Latin is fond of adding its appropriate verb to each of a string of subjects or objects.

Luget senatus, maeret equester ordo, tota civitas confecta senio est, squalent municipia, adflictantur coloniae.

Permitto aliquid iracundiae tuae, do adulescentiae, tribuo parenti.



The employment of this device in *translating* from English must obviously be rare.

(b) Contrasted expressions are equalised in form and extent. This can frequently be done without undue departure from the English.

You see the nature of the case, now consider what must be done.

Causa quae sit videtis : nunc quid agendum sit considerate.

In disposition he seemed rather of an implacable sternness than inclined to mercy.

Natura non tam propensus ad misericordiam quam implacatus ad severitatem videbatur.

Parts neither more useful nor more beautiful to look at.

Partes neque ad usum meliores neque ad speciem pulchriores.

Let us estimate happiness, not by the avoidance of ill, but by the good we obtain.

Nos beatam vitam non depulsione mali sed adeptione boni iudicemus.

(Note that Latin coins unusual words in *-io* for this very purpose of parallelism.)

Ariovistus replied that it was the right of war for the conquerors to govern those whom they had conquered in what way they pleased.

Ariovistus respondit : ius esse belli, ut qui vicissent (not victores), iis quos vicissent, quemadmodum vellent, imperarent.

(c) The order of the corresponding expressions may be the same; as in—

Tu actionem instituis, ille aciem instruit: tu caves,
ne tui consultores, ille, ne urbs aut castra
capiantur.

A fera agrestique vita ad hunc humanum civilemque
cultum deducere.

Ut aut voluptates omittantur maiorum voluptatum
adipiscendarum causa aut dolores suscipiantur
maiorum dolorum effugiendorum gratia.

Or it may be reversed (Chiasmus).

Fragile corpus animus sempiternus movet.

Philosophia medetur animis, inanes sollicitudines
detrahit, cupiditatibus liberat, pellit timores.

78. Both Latin and Greek have a tendency to emphasise contrasts where a modern language sinks them. While Greek, however, has a simple means of marking an antithesis by *μὲν . . . δέ*, Latin has recourse to various devices, viz., besides the common formula, *cum . . . tum*:

(1) *Et (Atque) . . . quidem . . . (sed)*.

Et illi quidem . . . inviolati redierunt: Samnitibus,
etc.

Atque illo quidem die irritatis tantum ad certamen
animis Romani castra posuerunt: nocte Hanni-
bal in tumulum copias recepit.

(2) *Et or quidem alone.*

Et quod ad Siciliam attinet, eo anno debellatum
est: in Hispania, etc.

Tum quidem corpora curant: ubi illuxit, etc.

(3) *Omnino . . . sed.*

Magnum opus omnino et arduum, Brute, conamur :
sed nihil difficile amanti puto.

Latitat omnino, sed si requiri iusseris, invenient
hominem apud sororem tuam.

(4) *Ut . . . sic.*

Ut haud quoquam improbante, sic magno motu
animorum in carcerem est coniectus.

(5) The repetition of a common word.

Cui rationes defuerunt, ubertas orationis non deficit.
Quid enim est quamobrem abs te Q. Hortensii factum
non reprehendatur, reprehendatur meum ?

79. Harsh combinations of consonants, a series of monosyllables, or of similar syllables or endings, must generally be avoided, yet ' punning ' is not unknown, as in

Plebiscitum quo magis oneratus quam honoratus sum,
and the other rules are occasionally broken for the purpose
of attracting the attention.

Mala res, spes multo asperior.

Commoditati ingenium, gravitati aetas, libertati
tempora sunt impedimenta.

80. The beauty of a period is enhanced by that alternation of strong and weak accents which is seen reduced to rule and measure in verse, particularly in the iambic metre, which nearly approaches the rhythm of ordinary speech. At the same time, any approach to metrical combinations, especially of an hexameter ending at the close of a sentence, must be carefully avoided.

(1) Idque cum coniectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse

potuisse, tum vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut nos paene oculis videre possemus.

(2) Quodsi illa sollemnis comitiorum precatio consularibus auspiciis consecrata tantam habet in se vim et religionem, quantum reipublicae dignitas postulat, idem ego sum precatus, ut eis quoque hominibus, quibus hic consulatus me rogante datus esset, ea res fauste, feliciter prospereque eveniret.

(3) Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat.

81. The insertion of a more emphatic between two connected, less emphatic words, and the variation of the common order, *e.g.*, *sum precatus* for *precatus sum*, originates, amongst other reasons, in the wish to alternate the accents.

Caesari rescripsi quam mihi gratum esset futurum.

Ille reprehensus a multis est.

Non suo sed populorum suffragio omnium.

Iustitia est omnium domina ac regina virtutum.

Admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo.

Even a word is divided.

Per mihi, per, inquam, gratum feceris.

82. It is naturally at the end of a period that the rhythm is most marked. The commonest and most effective closes are

- - - (in one word) consequentur, pertimesces, obstitisse, praetulisti.

- - - - (Iam nimis frequens. Quintil.) esse voluerunt, iam moriendum, esse fateatur.

- - - -- pertimescendos, pollicebatur, esse desistis.

Less frequent but sufficiently common are

- - - (*single*) duceres : (*doubled*) proximi sentiant.
- - - nobilis.
- - - iudiciorum, temeritatem, statueretur.
- - - (*single*) ferendos : (*doubled*) venenum timeres.
- - - (cuius)que confessio, dedistis amplissimos.

83. Too many heavy words, however, should not be allowed to congregate at the end of a period, as this destroys the balance of tone and alternation of accent. The beginner will require to be cautioned in consequence against 'clubbing' the verbs of subordinate clauses and the main verb and auxiliaries together at the end. Thus Cicero avoids combinations like

Quis perditus, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime
vixisse fateatur, inveniri potest ?

and writes instead,

Quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina
non familiarissime vixisse fateatur ?

The device of inserting a less emphatic between two more emphatic words seems often to be adopted for this purpose. The inserted word is generally connected in sense with the two separated expressions.

Mores et instituta vitae resque domesticas et fami-
liares nos profecto et melius tuemur et lautius.
Quam si ipsa exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni
præcipere et Laelio.

84. Various rhetorical devices may be conveniently noticed here : they are common to all languages.

(1) The reiteration of a word at the beginning of a sentence.

Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac republica virtus.
Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam sed ad confir-
mandam audaciam.

(2) The repetition of the same word at the beginning of consecutive sentences (Anaphora).

Verres calumniatores apparabat; Verres adesse
iubebat; Verres cognoscebat; Verres iudicabat.

(3) The same, at the end (Epiphora).

Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos.
Interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos
viros. Eos quoque vobis eripuit Antonius.
Auctoritas huius ordinis adflcta est. Adflixit
Antonius.

(4) The combination of Anaphora and Epiphora (Sym-
ploce).

Quis eos postulavit? Appius. Quis produxit?
Appius. Unde? ab Appio.

(5) Rhetorical questions (often = Negatives).

No torture can punish this runaway adequately.
Quae crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii adferre?

(6) Apostrophe: very common in Cicero.

O tempora! O mores!
O fortunatam rempublicam, si quidem hanc sentinam
urbis eiecerit!

85. English is not careful to denote the relation of a sentence or period to the preceding one, but in Latin this is generally done, and the relation is indicated in various ways.

(1) By the use of a demonstrative or demonstrative adverb. The following openings will sufficiently indicate the method.

Ob haec—Ea res ubi palam facta est—Per idem tempus—His sicut erant nuntiata expositis—Haec ubi facta—Eo forte die—Haec simul increpans—Eius rei fama varie homines adfecit—Eorum una pars—Ibi per aliquot dies stativa habita—Ita rebus peractis—Inde Romam revocatus—Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus—Inde flexa retro classis.

(2) By relatives and relative adverbs. This usage is particularly frequent with doubled relatives.

(3) A word is repeated from the preceding sentence, and the new sentence, as it were, starts from the same point as the last left off at.

Eques maxime resistebat : equitumque longe fortissimus ipse rex ab omni parte effuse sequentibus obequitans Romanis trahebat certamen.

Ipsae triumphans invectus urbem dictatura se abdicavit. Egregiae dictaturae tristem finem faciunt.

Bellum propter nos suscepistis : susceptum quantum decimum annum pertinaciter geritis.

Noli avarus esse. Avaritia enim quid potest esse foedius ?

Quod si acciderit, facienda morum institutorumque mutatio est. Commutato autem genere vitae, etc.

NOTES ON SOME USES OF VARIOUS CONJUNCTIONS.

86. *Et*, and often *Atque*, at the beginning of a new clause is always strong with such meanings as 'And as a matter of fact,' 'Yes, and,' 'And further,' 'And yet.'

Nec is used negatively in almost the same way.

Que may introduce a summing up, 'in fine'

Inde primo restitere; mox ut respirat
 locus spatium dedit, pepulere etiam
 Vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, cum cir-
 cummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset.

Aut and *Vel* = 'otherwise'; as,

Nihil arte insanabile commisi, aut frustra clementiae
 gravitatisque vestrae fama vulgata per gentes
 est.

Sed and *Verum* (the latter being slightly stronger)
 (1) introduce a statement opposed to what has preceded,
 and are the simplest means of so doing; (2) they both
 also indicate the transition to another subject, or return
 after digression; as,

Sed haec parva sunt: veniamus ad maiora.
 Verum ut Lilybaeum, unde est digressa oratio, rever-
 tatur.

Autem does not imply opposition so much as a new
 aspect of the subject, and an advance in the argument.

Gyges a nullo videbatur: ipse autem omnia videbat.

Vero, according to its derivation, indicates that special
 weight is to be attached to the statement it introduces.

Tum vero Appius furere.

It often acquires a mildly adversative sense.

Itaque parietes modo urbis stant et manent: rem-
 publicam vero penitus amissimus.

It is used sarcastically.

Praeclaros vero existimas iudices nos habere.

Multum vero haec iis iura profuerant.

See also below *Quasi vero*.



At is used where there is a lively transition from one sentence to another different one, for which special attention is claimed, e.g. after enumeration of the beauties of the earth, Cicero says,

At vero quanta maris est pulchritudo.

Thus it is used for introducing with indignation fresh charges:

At videte levitatem hominis!

At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime est per-
bacchatus!

Constantly, especially with the addition of *enim*, it introduces accusations or objections supposed to be brought forward by an adversary.

The defence or answer is introduced (1) by an unprefaced statement; (2) by another *At*; (3) by *Fateor* (*Esto, Credo*), *sed*; (4) by another question, *Quid? nonne . . .? Num igitur . . .? Quid tandem?* (5) by an ironical admission with *scilicet*, an indignant rejection with *Quasi vero* ('As if indeed'), or an apostrophe, *O incredibilem audaciam!*

Notice lastly its use in a phrase like

Si non dives, at doctus.

Quamquam (less commonly *etsi, tametsi*) is often used with an independent clause, 'and yet.'

Quamquam quid loquor? Te ut ulla res frangat.

Quamquam facile tibi concedo, cum dicis eos esse in
quibusdam malis.

Nam is used elliptically to justify a supposed omission.

Prudentiamne deo tribuimus . . .? Nam iustitia
quid pertinet ad deos?

Cicero describes as one of his contemporaries M. Crassus,

Nam huius aequalis et inimicus non ita diu iactare
se potuit.



Iam is used (1) in continuations.

Venio iam ad ipsius populi partes.

After an enumeration of the other benefits of nature,

Iam diei noctisque vicissitudo conservat animantes.

After detailing the other virtues of Pompeius,

Humanitate iam tanta est.

(2) In transitions.

Iam vero illa etiam notiora.

Iam illa non longam desiderant orationem.

(Notice *ille*, 'the following' = Gk. *ἐκεῖνος*.)

(3) In drawing conclusions.

Parent autem huic caelesti discriptioni mentique
divinae et praepotenti deo: ut iam universus
hic mundus una civitas communis deorum atque
hominum existimanda sit.

Age (with or without *dum*, *nunc*, *vero*, *porro*) and *Quid?*
with all its additions are used for rhetorical transitions to
a fresh division.

Age nunc ceteras quoque facultates consideremus.

Quid? illud quod proprie ad militem pertinet, quale
est?

Velut and *Ut* introduce an instance.

Apud Platonem saepe haec oratio usurpata est ut
nihil praeter virtutem diceretur bonum. Velut
in Gorgia, Socrates, cum esset ex eo quaesitum,
etc.

Qui dolet rebus alicuius adversis, idem alicuius
etiam secundis dolet. Ut Theophrastus inter-
itum deplorans Callisthenis, sodalis sui, rebus
Alexandri prosperis agitur.

The following are some schemes for denoting progressions :

- (1) (Primum or primo)—deinde (*may be repeated*)—tum—post (postremo, denique, ad extremum, ad ultimum).
- (2) Primum—deinde—porro.
- (3) Primum—deinceps (*may be repeated*)—deinde—tum ad extremum.

ANSWERS.

87. Affirmative answers are given—

- (1) By repetition of a word in the question, generally a verb.

Fierine potest ? Potest.

- (2) By *Etiam, Ita, Vero, Sane* (*quidem*).

Huic ego, 'Studes ?' inquam. Respondit, 'Etiam.'
'Quidnam,' inquit Catulus, 'an laudationes ?' 'Ita,'
inquit Antonius.

'Sed tu,' inquit, me intuens, 'orationes nobis veteres explicabis ?' 'Vero,' inquam, 'Brute.'

'Visne locum mutemus et in insula ista sermoni reliquo demus operam sedentes ?' 'Sane quidem.'

- (3) By *vero*, added to another word, frequently a pronoun.

'Dasne, aut manere animos post mortem aut morte ipsa interire ?' 'Do vero.'

'Num iniuste fecerit ?' 'Ille vero,' inquit Antipater.

This *vero* is used even in *oratio obliqua*.

In senatu cum more omnium imperatorum postu-
lassent ut ipsis triumphantibus urbem inire
liceret, se vero ea quae postularent decernere
patres responderunt.

Negative answers are given—

By *Non* with or without a repeated word.

Eratne tecum ? Non erat.

Cognatus aliquis fuit aut propinquus ? Non.

By *Minime*, often with some addition.

An tu haec non credis ? Minime vero.

Num igitur peccamus ? Minime nos quidem.

Immo (*vero*) is used when a correction, but not a contradiction, is implied.

Causa igitur non bona est ? Immo optima.

Vivit ? Immo vero in senatum venit.

An censes non necesse esse optimae reipublicae leges dare consentaneas ? Immo prorsus ita censeo.

CO-ORDINATION OF A SERIES OF WORDS.

88. (1) Regularly *et* is put between all ; as in,

Honeste et sapienter et iuste,

an *et* being prefixed to the first of the series if special emphasis (= 'not only . . . but also') is required ; as,

Maiores nostri et agris et urbibus et nationibus rempublicam auxerunt.

(2) Occasionally, as in English, *-que* is appended to the last of the series.

Magnifice graviter animoseque.

This usage must be distinguished from cases apparently similar,

Aegritudines irae libidinesque.

Poetae audiuntur, leguntur, ediscuntur, et inhaerescunt penitus in mentibus,

where the last of the series is a summation of the whole.

(3) The same end is attained—mostly, of course, in a rhetorical style—by anaphora (84, 2).

Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plenae sapientium voces,
plena exemplorum vetustas.

(4) The words are written, chiefly in the rhetorical style, with no co-ordinating conjunction.

Pacis, otii, concordiae, libertatis, salutis, vitae
denique omnium nostrum causa.

ASYNDETON.

89. In certain cases Latin dispenses with any conjunctions denoting the relation of sentence to sentence.

This occurs in connected passages of considerable extent where (*a*) a quick and lively style of narration is aimed at.

(1) Hoc initio suspicionis orto et aperte insimulato Stratone, puer ille conscius pertimuit; rem omnem dominae indicavit; homines in piscina inventi sunt; Strato in vincula coniectus est, atque etiam in taberna eius nummi, nequaquam omnes, reperiuntur.

(2) Utrimque clamore sublato, excipit rursus ex vallo atque omnibus munitionibus clamor. Nostri omissis pilis gladiis rem gerunt. Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur; cohortes aliae appropinquant; hostes terga vertunt; fugientibus equites occurrunt; fit magna caedes. Sedulius, dux et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur; Vercassivellaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga comprehenditur; signa militaria lxxiv ad Caesarem referuntur; pauci ex tanto numero se incolumes in castra recipiunt, etc.

The use of the historic infinitive is very common in sentences of the above type.

(b) In energetic declamation.

Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae; proficiscere. Nimum diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes; non feram, non patiar, non sinam.

(c) In *oratio obliqua*, where the heads of discourse seem only to be given.

(*The soldiers in Corfinium reflect*) obsideri se a Caesare; opera munitionesque prope esse perfectas: ducem suum Domitium fugae consilium capere: debere se suae salutis rationem habere.

90. It is also used (1) where an explanatory sentence is attached to another.

Haec aliis nefariis cumulant atque adaugent: crimen incredibile confingunt, testes in hunc et accusatores huiusce pecunia comparant.

(2) In oppositions.

Ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest.

Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis.

His sursus deorsus, ultro citro commeantibus.

Though a conjunction is often found; as,

In publicis privatisque, forensibus domesticisque rebus.

(3) In inversions of consecutive sentences.

Alexander cum interemisset Clitum, familiarem suum, vix a se manus abstinuit: tanta vis fuit poenitendi.

Dionysius quidem tyrannus Corinthi pueros docebat: usque eo imperio carere non potuit.

(4) In disjunctive conditional sentences.

Dares hanc vim Crasso ; in foro, mihi crede, saltaret.
Recordare de ceteris : intelleges iudicium meum et
horum par atque unum fuisse.

Date huic religioni aditum : iam nullum fortunis
omnibus exitum reperietis.

SIMILES AND METAPHORS.

91. In similes the illustration ordinarily precedes the application.

Nam ut tempestates saepe certo aliquo caeli signo com-
moventur, saepe improvisae nulla ex certa ratione obscura
aliqua ex causa concitantur, sic in hac comitiorum tempestate
populari saepe intelligas quo signo orta sit, saepe ita obscura
est, ut sine causa excitata videatur.

The formal introduction is often dispensed with.

In corpore si quid eiusmodi est quod reliquo corpori noceat,
id uri secarique patimur, ut membrum aliquod potius quam
totum corpus intereat. Sic in reipublicae corpore, ut totum
salvum sit, quicquid est pestiferum amputetur.

Often the similitude and its application are combined
in one sentence.

Ne contrahas ac demittas animum, neve te obrui tamquam
fluctu, sic magnitudine negotii sinas.

Notice the form of the simile *per negationem*. It may
be introduced by *ut non* followed by *sic non*, but more
idiomatic forms are—

(1) Neque civitas in seditione beata esse potest, neque in
discordia dominorum domus : quo minus (= et hoc minus)
animus a se ipse dissidens . . . gustare partem ullam liquidæ
voluptatis et liberae potest.

(2) Neque histrioni ut placeat peragenda fabula est, modo
in quocunque fuerit actu probetur, neque sapienti usque ad
'plaudite' veniendum est.

METAPHORS.

92. Strictly speaking, the majority of words now in use in language are metaphorical. Language which dealt primarily with material objects, as it became of wider application, naturally resorted to figures to express its meaning, and this, from the nature of the case, is particularly true of the verb, which is the seat of metaphor. In translating from English into Latin, any metaphor with which usage has so familiarised us that we do not recognise the 'figure' in it may be disregarded, though it may often happen that Latin would of itself write a metaphor in such cases. Apart from the fantastic metaphors supplied by the development of modern science and learning, Latin is as rich as, or even richer in metaphor than English.

But where an English metaphor is recognised as a metaphor, we must endeavour to represent it by one in Latin; always remembering that the Latin metaphor must correspond in 'strength' to the English one, and that a metaphor only suited to poetry must not be thrust into prose.

Mastery over the use of metaphors in translating from English into Latin is only gained by very wide and careful reading, but a few suggestions for their classification and methodical study are given below.

93. (1) A large number of metaphors being common to both languages, we shall find in many cases a surprising correspondence between English and Latin.

To brood over one's grief=*dolori incubare*.

A tickling of the senses=*sensuum titillatio*.

To put heads together (for deliberation).

Capita conferre.

To bring into the light of truth.

In veritatis lucem proferre.

Kindred tastes=cognatio studiorum.

To sit at the helm of the state.

Ad gubernacula rei publicae sedere.

Not to move a finger to help.

Ne digitum quidem alicuius rei causa porrigere.

To be a slave to fashion=servire consuetudini.

To give a handle for blame.

Ansae dare ad reprehendendum.

To assume a new character=novum ingenium induere.

Victory is in our hands=victoria in manu est.

A common bond=commune vinculum.

94. The same 'figure' may often be retained in a modified form, frequently by making the verb instead of a noun the seat of the metaphor. It is often advisable to 'reduce' the strength of the image.

All friendship is on a precarious footing.

Tota amicitia quasi claudicat.

The tooth of time had devoured the work.

Vetustas monumenta exederat.

To reopen the old wounds of the state.

Reipublicae praeterita fata refricare.

To tread all the rights of the people under foot.

Omnia populi iura obterere.

To form ties of friendship=amicitiam iungere.

To keep all the corn under lock and key.

Frumentum omne clausum et compressum possidere.

To shake the fabric of the state.

Rempubicam labefactare.

There is a dawning of hope = *spes illuxit.*

To put a bridle on one's lust = *libidines cohibere.*

To give edge to = *acuere.*

To blunt the edge of = *retundere.*

To draw a veil over = *praetexere.*

To set limits to = *saepire.*

To keep the eyes open = *vigilare.*

To apply a remedy = *mederi.*

95. (2) Often an English metaphor is capable of being represented by a corresponding but dissimilar Latin metaphor. The Latin will commonly be found more concrete, and will reflect the national habits.

To bear one in mind = *in oculis aliquem ferre.*

To put one's nose inside = *inserere oculos in (curiam).*

Swollen streams = *inflati amnes.*

To deaden grief = *callum quoddam dolori obducere.*

To laugh in one's sleeve = *in sinu gaudere.*

Under this head comes for the most part the representation of English proverbs by Latin ones.

To make a silk purse of a sow's ear.

Arcem e cloaca facere.

To come the day after the fair = *cena comesa venire.*

To kill two birds with one stone.

Duos parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare.

Una mercede duas res adsequi.

96. (3) When the metaphor is a mere phrase or mannerism it may disappear.

The book treating of the soul = *liber qui est de anima.*

It betrays (argues, etc.) stupidity = *stulti est.*

Metellus exhibited such industry.

Metellus tanta diligentia fuit.



To enjoy liberty (health, etc.).

Uti libertate (bona valetudine, etc.).

To find admittance=probari, accipi.

To find credit=fidem habere.

To pass for a citizen=esse (haberi) pro cive.

To make something the object of an investigation, etc.

Aliquid perscrutari, etc.

To flatter one's self with the hope=sperare videri.

An opinion prevails=est opinio.

97. (4) A metaphor disappears also in the Latin where there is no equivalent forthcoming, or where the specific equivalent is of greater strength in Latin than in the English.

If you have a spark of feeling.

Si ullam partem habes sensus.

To live without a spark of justice.

Sine ulla particula iustitiae vivere.

To fight tooth and nail.

Omnibus viribus atque opibus repugnare.

(The specific equivalent, *manibus pedibusque*, would be too strong in most contexts.)

98. (5) The Latin language naturally differs from the English as to the occasions for employing metaphorical language, so that often, where the latter has no metaphor, or a very unobtrusive one, Latin will employ a picturesque and figurative expression.

To be implicated in a crime=culpae adfinem esse.

To make some one unpopular=conflare alicui invidiam.

To end a war=bellum componere.

Flourishing crops=laetae segetes.

This teaching originated with Aristippus.

Haec philosophia ab Aristippo manavit.

In this way the ideas of 'arising' or 'originating' are often represented in Latin by such words as *nasci*, *efflorescere*, *manare*: of 'producing' by *serere*, *parere*, *excitare*, *fundere* (and its compounds).

The ideas of 'existence,' 'decline,' 'destruction' are expressed by *vigere*, *vivere*, *senescere*, *consenescere*, *extabescere*, *contabescere*, *exarescere*, *evanescere*, *labi*, *concedere*, *mori*, *dirumpere*, *dissipare*, *lacerare*, *discindere*, *fluo*, *diffluo*.

Ideas of 'coming to,' 'arriving at' by *permanere*, *redundare*, *labi* (and compounds), *devolvi*, *revolvi*, *advolare*, *involare*, *descendere*, *invadere*, *decurrere*.

Of 'giving' by *fundere*, *afferre*, *inserere*, *adiungere*, *accommodare*.

Of 'taking away' by *deripere*, *detrahere*, *decerpere*, *divellere*, *abrumperere*.

Of 'restraining' by *gubernare*, *moderari*, *saepire*, *temperare*.

99. (1) Metaphors which were felt to be somewhat bold were often apologised for in Latin by the addition of words like *quasi*, *tamquam*, *quidam*, *quasi quidam*, *tamquam quidam*, *paene*, *ut ita dicam*; as in,

Neque enim te fugit omnium laudatarum artium
procreatricem quandam et quasi parentem eam
quam φιλοσοφίαν vocant ab hominibus doctis-
simis iudicari.

Amicos non parare, optimam et pulcherrimam, ut ita
dicam, vitae suppellectilem.

Quo plures det sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehenden-
dum.

(2) Another device for avoiding too bold a metaphor is to transfer it into a simile in which application and figure are combined in the same sentence (91). Thus,

The purity and loyalty of a friendship is proved in the fire of affliction.

Quasi aurum igne, sic benevolentia fidelis rebus adversis perspici potest.

He always played the first part on the political stage.

Semper partes in republica tamquam in scaena optimas egit.

NOTES ON SUBSTANTIVES.

100. As the supply of substantives in Latin is comparatively small, it is made to meet the demand of translation (1) by extending the application of individual substantives, (2) by substituting for substantives other parts of speech.

(1) The singular of certain words is used in a collective sense: *Romanus, Poenus* (and all names of people), *miles, eques, hostis*; names of plants and flowers, as *pulvinus, rosa, fartus*; animals and food-stuffs, as *villa, abundat, porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle*; clothing and property, as *matres familiae de muro vestem argentumque iactabant*; certain abstracts, as *vicinitas, nobilitas, latrocinium, legatio, advocatio, coniuratio*.

101. The plural is used more in Latin than in English where plurality is really implied: thus the plural *philosophi*, etc., is used for the English generic singular, 'the philosopher,' 'the rhetorician,' 'the doctor,' etc. Notice also: *hominum ingenia ad fallendum parata—leges moresque* (law and morality)—*dies noctesque—iter ingressus pedibus* (on foot) *est—ures et oculos delectare—sapiens et praeterita* (the past) *grate meminit et praesentibus* (the present) *potitur*.



Abstract words are used in the plural to denote 'forms of,' 'ways of,' 'exhibitions of,' 'instances of,' 'processes of'; as *insaniae*, *iracundiae*, *formidines*, *mortes*, *potestates*, *honestates*, *curationes*—*quattuor perturbationes* (kinds of disturbance) *sunt*—*tres constantiae* (states of equilibrium)—*tres sunt fines* (ways of definition) *expertes honestatis*.—*An etiam conscientias* (instances of privacy) *eiusmodi facinorum supplicio dignas iudicarent?*

102. Substantives, originally objective, are used subjectively as well.

<i>Indignitas</i>	= indignity and indignation.
<i>Immaturitas</i>	= unripeness and hastiness.
<i>Veritas</i>	= truth and trustworthiness.
<i>Discrimen</i>	= decision and discrimination.
<i>Litterae</i>	= literature and writing.

The contrary occurs occasionally.

<i>Libido decreti</i>	= arbitrariness of a decree.
<i>Admiratio</i>	= object of admiration.
<i>Memoria</i>	= a record.

103. The primary meaning of a word is differentiated by the context: we may write (1) the genus for the species, or (2) the species for the genus, *i.e.* use a word in a wider or narrower meaning than it originally possesses.

(1) *Iudicium* = artistic judgment, *i.e.* 'taste'; or practical judgment = 'discretion'; or, with *voluntatis* = 'freewill.'

Cogitatio = the act of thinking, is applicable to one special kind of thought, *i.e.* 'fancy.'

So 'pedantry,' in a proper context, is translated by *acerbitas* or *morositas*: 'sympathy' or 'pity' by *dolor*: 'curses' by *preces*: 'manœuvres' by *artificia*: 'a (subordinate) command,' by *cura* (e.g. *equitum*). Finally *res* may represent almost anything which the context implies.

(2) 'Grief' (the genus) may be represented by the different species of grief, e.g. *fletus, gemitus, singultus, lacrimae*. 'Possibility' = *condicio*: 'form' (in certain contexts) = *mos, consuetudo*. 'Belief in the gods' = *opinio, suspicio deorum*.

104. A Latin diminutive may express an English substantive, with an addition.

A glimmer of hope = *specula*.

A paltry sum = *nummuli*.

Petty causes = *causulae*.

So *mercedula, librarioli, ratiunculae, conclusiunculae*.

105. Substantives in *-tor* and *-trix* denote the person or thing, having the action of the verbal as a *constant characteristic*.

Omnis natura vult esse conservatrix sui.

Natura consultrix et provida utilitatis.

Furiae deae sunt speculatrices et vindices facinorum et sceleris.

Ignis confector est et consumptor omnium.

Where the substantive is wanting, a present participle supplies its place.

Sunt municipales rustique Romani, sunt negotii gerentes.

Eques Romanus locuples, sui negotii bene gerens.

106. Substantives may be used passively: thus, *caedes* = 'the being murdered': *vis* = 'compulsion applied': *odium* and *invidia* = 'the being hated,' i.e. 'unpopularity.' Especially is this the case in Livy with verbals in *-us*.

Iam opera in effectu erant.

Aestas sine ullo effectu (*without anything being done*) trahitur.

107. Verbals in *-io* rejoice in a greater adaptability to the context than any other kind of Latin substantive. They are used in the singular as well as (101) the plural to denote *way, means, manner, possibility of*.

Omnium deinde inanium visorum una depulsio (*way of dispelling*) est.

Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio (*manner of attacking*) est haec.

Adimere omnem recusationem (*loophole for refusing*) volui.

So *petitio* = 'way of being candidate': *defensio* = 'scheme of defence': *cognitio* = 'plan of investigation.'

This is especially so in combinations with *esse* and *habere*.

Quae est reprehensio (*ground for blame*) ?

Quae vel minimi temporis dilatio (*possibility of postponement*) ?

Habet enim res deliberationem (*opportunity for consideration*).

108. They can be used as passives:

Misericordiam spoliatio (*the being robbed*) consulatus magnam habere debet.

Cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio (*the being thought to possess*) fuerit.

So *gratulatio, existimatio, occupatio, coniunctio*, etc. And though Latin ordinarily draws a distinction between the action and result, e.g. between *inventio* ('the finding out') and *inventum* ('the thing found out,' the 'invention'), *institutio* and *institutum*, *cogitatio* and *cogitatum*, etc., notice the following occasional uses: *potio* = 'the drinking' and 'the drink'; *emptio* = 'the purchasing' and 'the purchase'; *lectio* = 'the reading' and 'the thing read'; *auditio* = 'the

hearing' and 'the thing heard'; *assignatio* = 'the allotting' and 'the allotment.'

109. They are used very largely by Cicero to promote uniformity in a passage.

Non placet mihi inquisitio candidati, praenuntia repulsae, non testium potius quam suffragatorum comparatio, non minae magis quam blanditiae, non denuntiatio potius quam per-salutatio.

110. Lastly, a few striking instances are given of the extension of the meaning of Latin substantives.

Fides = believing—faithfulness—credit—belief—trustworthiness.

Ratio = a calculating—thought—system—theory—reasonableness.

Religio = (subjectively) scruple—piety—superstition; (in plural) religious feelings or actions; (objectively) holiness or sanctity—religious obligation; (in plural) holy objects—an offence.

111. (2) Substantives may be represented by

(a) Adjectives of place, *iter Brundisium* (to Brindisi)—*domus urbana* (in the city)—*militia castrensis*—*Avaricentia praemia* (won at Avaricum): of material, *castra lignea*—*corona aurea*—*argenteum vas*. So with *regius metus* (fear of kings)—*tribuniciae procellae*—*aliena vitia*—*praetoria turba*: and regularly in the case of the adjectives *puerilis*, *senilis*, *servilis*, *civilis*, *popularis*, *singularis*.

(b) By adverbs: 'by name' = *nominatim*: 'without consideration' = *temere*, *audacter*: 'by a miracle' = *divinitus*: 'by heart' = *memoriter*: 'from of old' = *antiquitus*.

(c) By participles :

Unde diadema ? non enim abiectum (*off the ground*)
sustuleras.

Quem complexa (*in her embrace*) tenet.

Micipsa moriens (*on his deathbed*) praecepit.

So *mortuus* = 'in his grave.'

(d) Connected with this is the employment of a participle and a substantive to denote the action instead of the result of the action. Notice how Latin suffers from the want of an article to employ with the infinitive.

Dubitabat nemo quin violati (*the violation of*) hospites, legati necati (*the murder of*), pacati atque socii nefario bello lacessiti (*the disturbance of*), fana vexata (*the plundering of*) hanc tantam efficerent vastitatem.

Sabinis etiam creatus (*the making of*) Romae dictator metum incussit.

Pudor non latī auxilii (*of the omission to bring aid*).

Nihil Oaneo capto (*the capture of*) opus esse.

This usage is very frequent after prepositions, as *ante conditam urbem*—*post exactos reges*.

(e) The neuter participle is even used without a substantive in a similar way.

Diu non perlitatum (*the delay in completing the sacrifices*) tenuerat dictatorem.

Mentes turbavit rursus nuntiatum (*the repetition of the news*).

Propter crebrius eo anno de caelo lapidatum (*the too frequent fall of stones*).

And notice may here be made of the very convenient ablatives absolute, *audito*, *cognito*, *comperto*, *intellecto*, *nuntiato*, *edicto*, *permisso*.

(f) The uses of the gerund, gerundive, and supine are well known: we merely call attention to the passive meaning which the gerund assumes owing to a difference of idiom. (Cf. French: *maison à louer*.)

Frequentia totius Italiae, quae convenerat censendi causa (*for registration, being registered*).

Id malum opprimi sustentando aut prolatando (*by being borne or deferred*) nullo pacto potest.

(g) Notice the use of the infinitive with an attribute agreeing:

Istuc nihil dolere=*your painless state*; beate vivere vestrum=*your happiness*.

Cum vivere ipsum (*life itself*) turpe sit nobis—hoc totum diserte dicere (*all this eloquence*).

NOTES ON ADJECTIVES.

112. Their use as substantives.

(1) The masculine singular is used—(a) collectively, as *Romanus* (= each Roman: a Roman = *Romanus quidam*)—*parcitur inermi*.

Adeo imparem libertatem Romae esse diti ac pauperi.

Faliscus procul a domo militiam aegre patiens poscere pugnam: Veienti Fidenatique plus spei in trahendo bello esse.

(b) Where the relations of one person to another are expressed.

Omne discrimen victi et victoris excludere.

Indignum est a pari vinci aut superiore.

Qui (*How*) praestat igitur intelligens imperito?

Dispice insidiatorem et petitum insidiis.

(c) In the philosophical style, of the ideal or representative of a class.

Si tabulam de naufragio stultus arripuerit, extorquebitne eam sapiens?

And in this sense often in the genitive with *esse*.

(d) When co-ordinated with a substantive.

Quod esset aut ab amico, aut a gratioso, aut a consule postulandum.

The present participle active is used as a substantive in any case but the nominative singular: *addidit et aliam fidentis speciem—scribentis animus—aperte adulantem nemo non videt*.

The past participle passive is not commonly so used in any case in the singular; exceptions are found, however, under (b) mostly.

In all cases another adjective may be added.

Ne cuius incerti vanique auctor esset.

Domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagantur.

Notice, however, that it is *nemo* (not *nullus*) *doctus—vix quisquam* (not *ullus*) *sapiens*.

113. (2) The masculine plural is used as a substantive to denote distinct classes: *agrestes—tenuiores—boni* (in political sense)—*superiores—maiores—pauperes—agroti—docti—indocti—mortales* (always with some addition, as *omnes, multi*).

In the historical style the plural of passive participles is used freely; as, *damnati—caesi—obsessi—vi oppressi—civitate donati*.

The plural of the present participle active is used very freely in all styles, especially in the genitive.

Soli enim ratione utentes iure ac lege vivunt.
 Quae memorabilia scribentibus videri solent.
 Ut omittam levitatem temere adsentientium.
 Mixti terrentium paventiumque clamores.

114. (3) The nominative and accusative neuter singular are used as substantives chiefly in the philosophical style, and even then confined to certain words; as, *decorum*—*honestum*—*bonum*—*verum*—*falsum*—*utile*—*iustum*—*aequum*—*reliquum*—*beatum*—colours, like *album*.

Communia autem simplicium coniunctorumque sunt
 haec quinque quasi lumina; dilucidum, breve,
 probabile, illustre, suave (*clearness, terseness, etc.*).

Perfect passive participles are very common, e.g. *dictum*, *factum*, *iussum*, *institutum*, *constitutum*, *factum*, *promissum*, *responsum*, *mandatum*, *peccatum*, more particularly in the plural. They may be qualified by adverbs, as *temere* (*facete, etc.*), *dictum*.

The partitive genitive singular neuter is used very extensively, but chiefly in adjectives of the second declension.

Species deorum, quae nihil concreti habeat, nihil
 solidi, nihil expressi, nihil eminentis.

The ablative is rare :

Sic inducto et constituto probabili.

115. The neuter singular is very common in prepositional phrases, mostly of place, as *in medium*, *in profundo*, *in publico*, *in occulto*, *in excelso*, *ad extremum*, *in aperto*, *in plano*, *ex propinquo*, *in praeceps*; but also of other

relations, as *ex necopinato, insperato, improvviso, ex instituto, ad vanum, in incerto, ex aequo*; and of time, as *in posterum, ad extremum, ad ultimum, in aeternum, in perpetuum, in futurum*; often in Livy with a genitive, as *ad ultimum inopiae, in extremo aetatis, ad ultimum seditionis, per Europae plerumque, ad multum diei, serum erat diei, reliquum noctis, in immensum altitudinis, in aequo campi*.

Past participles passive are very common, as *ex occulto, pro infecto, pro praeiudicato*.

Instances of the third declension are fewer; we find *in difficili, in praecipiti, ex communi, ex patenti*. Expressions such as *in melius, in peius, in deterius, in maius*, are not employed by Cicero, and must be used cautiously.

The neuter singular adjective may be freely combined, in the philosophic style, with another adjective; as,

Illud vestrum beatum et aeternum.

In antiquis tabulis illo ipso horrido obsoletoque tenemur.

In infinito inani.

116. The nominative and accusative neuter plural of the adjective are very frequently used as substantives, as *mea, tua, superiora, per ardua, per obliqua, ad planiora, ad cultiora*.

In the historic style they are frequently combined with a genitive, mostly partitive; as, *per aversa urbis—extrema agminis—opportuna moenium—interiora aedium—per inaequaliter eminentia rupis—incerta fortunae—finitima provinciae Romanae—subita belli*.

In its other cases the neuter plural is indistinguishable from the masculine, and is less frequently employed. Even Cicero, however, uses it; as, *praeteritorum memoria*

—*taedio praesentium*—*secernere pestifera a salutaribus*—*nihil est appetentius similitum sui quam natura.*

117. Adjectives may supply the place—

(1) Of the genitive of a substantive; as, *imperium singulare* (the rule of a despot)—*dictatoria invidia* (the unpopularity of the dictator)—*decemvirale odium*—*pugna Marathonia*—*servilis tumultus* (a rising of slaves)—*metus hostilis*—*expectatio nostra*—*domus regia*—*vitia aliena*—*senilis prudentia*—*doctrina puerilis* (the education of the young). Compare 111, a.

(2) Of a prepositional phrase; as, *urbana audacia* (in the city)—*provinciale officium*—*iter campestre, Asiaticum*—*nuntius Brundisinus*—*theatrales gladiatoriique consessus* (assemblages at the plays and at the shows)—*praeda maritima.*

(3) Of an adverb; as, *strenuus auge rem*—*senes tardi incedunt*—*ut ea res prospera et laeta eveniret*—*hostes praecipites se fugae mandant.*

This usage is common only with such verbs, like *eveniret* above, as require further definition.

118. Adjectives in *-ble* for which there is no Latin equivalent may often be translated—

(1) By the past participle passive (especially those compounded with *-in*); as, *conspectus*—*contemptus*—*despicatus*—*cognitus*—*indomitus*—*incorruptus*—*incognitus*—*immutus*—*inviolatus*—*inaccessus*—*invictus*—*infinitus.*

(2) By the gerundive; as, *laudandus*, *admirandus*, *amandus*, *diligendus.*

(3) By phrases with the gerund; as, *facilis ad subigendum belua*—*materies facilis ad exardescendum*—*res difficilis ad eloquendum*.

(4) By the use of the present indicative :

The Rhone is fordable in places.

Rhodanus nonnullis locis vado transitur.

True love is not easily distinguishable from false.

Non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus.

119. Some adjectives have active and passive meanings; as, *infestus, ingratus, innoxius, ignotus, ignarus, caecus, incertus*.

120. Though we find such combinations as, *consilium stultum*—*sapiens excusatio*—*fortissimae sententiae*, avoid in general applying to a substantive denoting something inanimate an adjective properly applicable to something animate. It will be often useful to employ a periphrasis with *plenus* instead.

A bold and wicked design=*consilium plenum sceleris et audaciae*.

A cowardly but crafty flight=*fuga timoris simul calliditatisque plena*.

A rash undertaking=*plenum aleae opus*.

Notice too—

A sensible letter=*litterae sana mente scriptae*.

121. Where epithets of *blame* or *praise* are applied, notice the forms, *Scipio vir fortissimus*—*fortis ille Scipio*—*Aristoteles vir summo ingenio* (*scientia, copia*)—*L. Philippus summa nobilitate et eloquentia*—*Cassius integritate, virtute, pietate singulari* (the use of the genitive is later)—*Corinthus, urbs amplissima*. But where the epithet is constant we have *Solon sapiens*—*Sulla Felix*.

122 a. The place of adjectives is taken—

(1) By substantives, especially those in *-tor* and *-trix*; as, *ipse ille latronum occultator et receptor locus—incursator hostis—tirones milites—virgo (adulescens) filia—victrices copiae—servus senex—mulier ancilla—plebs transfuga—foederum raptor dux et populus—liberator ille populi Romani animus—domitor ille totius Hispaniae exercitus—proditor exercitus militaris disciplinae.*

(a) The substantive may be co-ordinated, and either—

(a) Like in meaning; as, *metus ac timor* (a panic alarm)—*veri inquisitio et investigatio* (a searching examination)—*convenientia consensusque naturae* (the harmonious agreement)—*absolutio perfectioque* (complete perfection)—*cursus et impetus* (a hurried rush).

(β) Or unlike; as, *iuventute et viribus* (youthful vigour)—*cognitio et ratio litterarum* (scientific knowledge)—*precibus ac misericordia* (tearful entreaties)—*clamor et admiratio—ratio et doctrina—monumenta ac litterae* (written memorials)—*vociferatio atque indignatio.*

(b) The substantive may be in the genitive; as, *corporis dolor* (bodily pain)—*virtus animi—hostium terra—opinio erroris*, or *opinionis error—historiae fides—sermonis communicatio—mathematicorum ratio* (mathematical calculation)—*malum illud opinionis esse non naturae* (an imagined, not a real ill). Where 'material,' 'place,' 'origin,' however, is to be expressed, the adjective must be used; as, *signum aenum—Gorgias Leontinus—Venus Praxitelea—bellum Africanum—caedes Gennabensis—Homericus Ulixes.* See 111 a, above.

(c) If the attribution is to be made emphatic an abstract substantive may be used as a substitute for the adjective; as in,

Superstitio hominum imbecillitatem occupavit (men as being weak).

Cibum partim unguium tenacitate arripiunt, partim aduncitate rostrorum.

Ii qui mathematici vocantur, quanta in obscuritate rerum (on what an obscure subject) *versantur.*

Ita diei brevitās conviviis, noctis longitudo stupris et flagitiis continebatur.

2. *Adverbs and adverbial expressions* may replace adjectives. The want of an article is very apparent in the awkwardness of expressions so formed.

Discessu tum meo—deorum saepe praesentiae—neque semper mea manu (autograph) *litteras exspectabis—plane vir—plane artifex—paene miles.*

The usage is particularly frequent in the historical style; as,

Omne inde tempus—nullis extrinsecus adiumentis—defectus alibi aquarum—multarum circa civitatum irritatis animis—duobus bifariam proeliis—maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolumento—Romulum, conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges (the succeeding kings) *—tumultuosus hinc atque illinc excursionibus invicem.*

Notice such cumbrous expressions as

Ad illam universorum civium Romanorum per tot urbes uno puncto temporis miseram crudelemque caedem.

Here *illam* acts as a definite article.



122 b. Some English adjectives are superfluous, and disappear in Latin.

Personal character=mores.

Inner worth=virtus.

External brilliance=splendor.

At the proper place (time)=ad locum (tempus).

'Whole' may be omitted; as,

*Non modo unius patrimonium sed urbes et regna
devorare potuisset.*

'Single' may be omitted; as,

Non in causas laborem suum sed in locos intendunt.

'Mere' may be omitted; as,

*Haec metuo equidem ne sint somnia.
Homines sumus non dei.*

PRONOUNS.

123 a. Care should be taken not to overload the sentence with pronouns.

(1) *Possessives* should be omitted where no confusion is introduced; as in—

Nec enim minus nostra sunt quae animo complectimur quam quae oculis intuemur.

They are often, however, written with *animus*, where a kind of dual personality is implied; as,

Considerate cum vestris animis vosmetipsi.

Ego vix statuere apud animum meum possum.

(2) *Demonstratives* are omitted—(a) before a relative; as in—

*Unam fore tabellam (eorum) qui liberandos omni
periculo censerent, alteram qui capitis damnarent.
Frumentum omne, praeter quod secum portaturi
erant, comburunt.*

Or (b) where they can be easily supplied ; as,

Refrenandi potius a gloria quam (ad eam) incitandi.

Imitari (eos) quam invidere bonis malebant.

Consolans filiam Ambustus (eam) bonum animum habere iussit.

(3) It often strengthens the sentence to write *vir, homo, res*, etc., in the place of an unemphatic pronoun.

What need is there to philosophise on this matter when we see it does not particularly require it ?

Quid opus est in hoc philosophari cum rem non magno opere philosophia egere videamur.

You have hit it.

Rem acu tetigisti.

Though Plato adduces no reason, mark how I defer to him.

Ut rationem Plato nullam afferat, vide quid homini tribuam.

(4) Even a reflexive may be omitted ; as,

In Etruriam ducit copias eam quoque gentem adiuncturus.

Socrates Xenophonti consulenti exposuit quae videbantur.

123 b. If it is required to translate such phrases as 'this of,' 'that of,' 'those of,' a demonstrative should only be employed when there is special emphasis laid upon it, e.g. such as results from contrast or antithesis ; as,

Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem desiderat, praeter hanc laudis et gloriae.

Quod haec ratio dicendi latior sit, illa loquendi contractior.

Quae cognitio studiorum et artium propemodum non minus est coniuncta, quam ista qua vos delectamini generis et nominis.

Otherwise the following devices should be employed, as (a) the mere omission of the pronoun where the context allows :

Flebat uterque non de suo supplicio, sed pater de filii morte, de patris filius ;

(b) the insertion of a corresponding word in place of the pronoun :

So much did Marcius by his glory detract from that of the consul.

Tantum sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius.

Haec est pugna Cannensis, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par.

(c) After a comparative or adjective denoting 'likeness,' etc., the construction called *comparatio compendiaria* may be used.

• *Testis est Phalaris cuius est praeter ceteros (more than that of any other man) nobilitata crudelitas.*

124. The English phrases, 'and that,' 'and those,' etc., are represented by *et is, isque, et is quidem, neque is* ; as,

Privatas causas et eas tenues agimus.

Habet primum memoriam et eam infinitam rerum innumerabilium.

Una in domo et ea quidem angusta.

125. Notice the following idiomatic uses of *ipse* :

Suddenly the doors opened spontaneously.

Valvae subito se ipsae aperuerunt.

When I had been at Athens exactly ten days.

Cum Athenis decem ipsos dies fuisset.

Those who had fled straight from the battle.

Qui ex ipsa caede fugerant.

126 a. 'Oneself' may be translated by *ipse* or *se*.

Quia longe diversum est ipsi quid videri et ut alii videatur efficere.

Iudicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.

Amicitiae non modo faultrices fidelissimae sed etiam effectrices sunt voluptatum tam amicis quam sibi.

126 b. 'One another' is translated—

(1) By *alter alterum*, which, however, denotes that A does something to B, B to C, etc., and not that A does something to B, and B to A.

(2) By *inter* with a pronoun.

It will be fair to carry on our own feuds privately with one another.

Erit aequa lex ut nostras inimicitias ipsi inter nos geramus.

Notice that *inter se* acts as object to transitive verbs.

To look at (love, etc.) one another.

Aspicere (diligere, etc.) inter se.

So we find—

Enemies used to one another.

Hostes inter se assueti.

Courted by one another.

Inter se captati.

By their treachery to one another.

Ipsorum inter se fraude.

The lines were 500 paces distant from one another.

Quingentos passus acies inter se aberant.

A substantive, if the form of the sentence requires it, is also used with *inter*; as,

The brothers bandy the most virulent abuse between one another.

Intorquentur inter fratres gravissimae contumeliae.

- (3) A substantive is used twice for the purpose.

The men choose one another.

Vir virum legit.

The citizens obey one another.

Cives civibus parent.

He joined the camps to one another.

Castra castris coniunxit.

- (4) *Invicem* is used by and after Livy, especially with an appropriate duplication of the verb.

Having greeted one another.

Salute data invicem redditaque.

To despise one another.

Contemnere invicem contemnique.

Attendance upon one another and the actual infection tended to spread the diseases.

Ministeria invicem et contagio ipsa morbos vulgabant.

- (5) The English words 'mutual,' 'reciprocal' and their synonyms can be translated in similar ways. *Mutuo* should be avoided.

- (6) Finally 'one another' can often be expressed without the use of the above methods.

Before the enemy's armies joined one another.

Priusquam iungerentur hostium exercitus.

Affairs over sea too, as it were, counterbalanced one another.

Transmarinae quoque res quadam vice pensatae.

127. *Aliquis* is used even after *si*, *nisi*, *ne*, *num*, etc., when it means 'some,' and not 'any.'

Whether you despair or have some hope.

Sive desperas sive habes aliquam spem.

Quae causa est cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias.

128. *Quisque* has a tendency to pass into a subordinate clause, where 'each' is in the English main clause; as,

Let each man practise the craft he knows.

Quam quisque novit artem, in hac se exerceat.

Theatrum cum commune sit, recte tamen dici potest eius esse eum locum quem quisque occupaverit.

It is very freely used in translating ideas of *distribution* and *proportion*. (55, 4.)

Every fifth year.

Quinto quoque anno.

The heads of their respective trades.

Qui cuique artificio praesunt.

A few appear, moved respectively by individual zeal or interest.

Pauci ut quosque studium privatim aut gratia occupaverant adsunt.

Quotus enim quisque philosophorum reperitur qui sit ita moratus ut ratio postulat.

Notice that *quisque* should not be used as an equivalent for *omnes*, where there is no idea of individualisation.

129. Notice the following combinations and uses of *tantus*, etc.

Hos tantos tamque profusos sumptus.

Tantam illam copiam et tam magnificum apparatus.

Reperietis quinquies tanto amplius istum, quam quantum in cellam sumere ei licitum est, civitatibus imperasse.

Sed tamen ita distinebas ut huic vix tantulae epistolae tempus habuerim.

Such is their tremendous pride, such their insolence.

Quod eorum tantum fastidium est, quae tanta arrogantia.

129 b. Where in English the writer avoids a pronoun by unnecessary designations, such as 'the prince,' 'the traveller,' 'the conqueror,' 'the general,' 'the great minister,' and such like, Latin is inclined to employ the pronoun *only*.

NOTES ON VERBS.

130. Latin verbs are notoriously deficient in certain parts.

For the present participle passive we have, apart from periphrasēs in the shape of subordinate (relative, etc.) clauses,

(1) The gerundive, rarely.

I laboured as hard in public when my honours were won, as when they were being aimed at.

Partis honoribus eosdem in foro gessi labores quos petendis.

(2) As rarely, the perfect participle passive.

Assured peace is better and safer than a victory which is hoped for.

Melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria.

Nulla neque praesenti neque expectata voluptate.

Si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis (*not while the Comitia are being held*) sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiari.

Inter haec parata atque decreta.

In some cases, as in the use of *obsessi* = οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, the participle seems to have passed into an adjective.

(3) The deficient present participle of *esse* is sometimes left entirely unrepresented ; as,

Ecce autem successere huic, Clodius et Asellio, nihil ad Caelium (*though being nothing compared to C.*).

Sed in Marcum pari benevolentia (*being equally well disposed*), hoc magis sum Publico deditus, quod, etc.

Ut vel non stultus quasi stulte cum sale dicat aliquid.

For the perfect participle active we have—

(a) Verbal substantives as *discessu*, *adventu*, *solis occasu*, *concessu*, *permissu*.

Cum tu discessu ceterorum (*the rest having left*) nostra tamen qui remansissemus caede te contentum esse dicebas.

(b) The perfect passive participle, in the ablative absolute or otherwise.

Having crossed to the mainland.
In continentem transvectus.

The most marked cases of the ablative absolute are where it is closely applied to a pronoun.

Having himself also divided his army into three, he set out.

Diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

Causa ipse pro se dicta quindecim milibus aeris damnatur.

Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, proelium poscunt.

The passive of certain verbs, *e.g.* deponents like *vereor*, *miror*, *obliviscor*, *veneror*, *suspikor*, etc., is supplied by devices like

- (a) Metui, odio, admirationi, etc., esse.
- (b) In oblivionem adduci—oblivione obrui, ob-
litterari—imitatione exprimi.
- (c) Magna est admiratio copiose sapienterque
dicentis.
- (d) Habet venerationem iustam quicquid excellit.
Odii nihil Messala habet.
Reversio quae plus venerationis habet.
- (e) In odium, crimen, invidiam, suspicionem venire.
- (f) Oculis colliguntur (*are enjoyed*) innumera-
biles voluptates.

131. The future participle active has various special uses.

- (1) It denotes a *decision* or *determination*.

The dictator advanced against the foe, determined not to risk his fortune anywhere, save so far as he was compelled.

Dictator ad hostem ducit, nullo loco nisi quantum necessitas cogeret fortunae se commissurus.

We will try a policy of honesty, so long as it offers a hope of success, ready to adopt the opposite course, if dishonesty offers more.

Honesta, quamdiu aliqua illis spes inest, sequemur, in contrarium transituri si plus scelera promittent.

- (2) It denotes a *doom*, or *destiny*.

They go doomed into the battle.

Vadunt in proelium perituri.

(3) In Livy it sometimes has a conditional sense ; as,

*Darius could not be taken openly if so many thousand
Persians defended him.*

Propalam comprehendi Darius non poterat, tot
Persarum milibus laturis opem regi.

132. Transitive verbs are sometimes used without any object, as in English. This must not be done, however, without an example to warrant it.

*It was believed that he threw himself off his horse into
an open well.*

Creditus est in puteum apertum ex equo praecipitasse.

From which class it is the custom of trainers to recruit.

Ex quo genere hominum lanistis comparare mos est.

The price of corn had not much lowered.

Annona haud multum laxaverat.

Non obtundam diutius.

Terror inde ac desperatio invaserat.

The presence of a prepositional phrase, particularly with *de*, or an adverb, helps the usage greatly.

Negat se de existimatione sua cuiquam nisi suis commissurum.

Cum universo ordini publicanorum libentissime tribuerim.

Liberaliter pollicitus — optime sperare — repetam paulo altius.

133. (1) English active present participles used attributively with a substantive must not be translated by the present participle of a Latin *transitive* verb, even if a suitable object is supplied, but by adjectives or circumlocutions.

A moving strain.

Cantus aptus ad commovendos animos.

Prying eyes.

Oculi curiosi.

A fatiguing exercise.

Exercitatio laboriosa.

An occurrence approaching the miraculous.

Casus paene divinus.

Imposing eloquence.

Gravitas dicendi.

Adjectives in *-bundus*, as *moribundus* (dying), *queribundus* (complaining); *-osus*, as *gloriosus* (boasting), and *-bilis*, as *flebilis* (touching), *miserabilis* (pitying); and combinations with *plenus*, as *oratio solacii plena* (a comforting speech), are all useful in turn for the purpose of avoiding the participle.

(2) On the other hand, the present participles of *intransitive verbs*, or of those transitive verbs which may be used absolutely, are very common; as, *aegritudo premens* (a distressing malady), *dolor crucians* (a torturing pain), *carmen nunc abhorrens* (a strain now displeasing); *valens*, *timens*, *consentiens*, etc.

EXERCISES

PART I

NARRATIVE

I

Before he had got far he was recalled, brought once more before the Emperor's throne, and bidden ¹ to make his suit in the hearing of the legions. Then at last ² the chieftain's pride took fire, and he gave his indignation vent. He came, ³ he said, not as a conquered foeman or a humble vassal, but of his free choice to court the majesty of Rome. ⁴ He had laid down his crown as a token of respect, but looked to have his kingdom given him again. ⁵ The Emperor's reply was stern and brief. Armenia ⁶ was to be henceforth a Roman province, but the monarch and his followers might go in safety where they pleased. The Armenian prince ⁷ was too high-spirited to yield without a struggle; he flew to arms, and was slain soon after at a word from ⁸ Trajan, who had not generosity enough to spare the rival whom he had humbled.

¹ *causam suam orare*. ² Transfer 'the chieftain' to the previous clause: *indignatione (iniuria, dolore) incensus (94): iracundia (98) exardescere*. ³ 57, 2. ⁴ *regnum (97) ita per obsequium tradidisse, ut (23) . . .*
⁵ *Ad haec imperator paucis acerbe respondit*. ⁶ *placere Armeniam esse . . .* ⁷ *indignum ratus arma sumit, or, ad arma currit*. ⁸ (55 2) *T. ut erat parum magnanimus, adeo non . . . (21) parcebat, ut (61, 13) interficeret; or, ut erat natura sordidior quam qui . . . , interficiendum curavit*.

II

¹ They came again at the ² appointed time to their retreat in the forest; but what was their surprise to find Cassim's body taken away, and some of their bags of gold. 'We are certainly discovered,' said the captain, 'and shall be undone if we do not take care, and speedily apply some remedy. ³ All that we can think of this loss which we have sustained is, that the ⁴ thief whom we have surprised had ⁵ the secret opening of the door, and we came luckily as he was coming out; but his body being removed, and with it some of our money, plainly shows that he has an accomplice; and as it is likely that there were but two who had got the secret, ⁶ and one has been caught, we must look narrowly after the other.'

¹ (71, 72, 74). First period down to 'gold.' ² (122 b). ³ (63). *De damno accepto hoc solum constare.* ⁴ Say, 'the thief whom, on the point of coming out, they themselves by a lucky chance had surprised.' ⁵ (58) *carmina per quæ intrare posset bene doctum esse.* ⁶ Translate by relative sentence with infinitive (56).

III

¹ The Persian envoys spoke much to the same purpose as when treating with Heraclius. ² They threw all the blame of the war on Chosroes. He had acted, so they declared, contrary to the wishes of the nation, not only ³ in passing the Araxes, but even in venturing beyond his domains. ⁴ If the facts were duly considered, the Persians would be found to have loyally observed their treaties with the Romans ⁵ up to that hour. They had therefore only to pray for a renewal of the peace concluded with the Emperor Maurice. ⁶ According to the Byzantine usage, the wishes of the army were consulted: whereupon ⁷ a cry went up from the assembled host that the Persians were traitors: they had deliberately chosen

young envoys in order that they might sue for a peace which they themselves did not know the ⁸ particulars of.

¹ *eadem fere quae* (58) . . . omit word for 'spoke' (61, 6), and then pass into *Or. Obl.* ² (57, 2). 'Chosroes alone was cause of the war.' ³ 'He, not only as to the fact (15) that he had crossed . . ., had acted contrary to their wish.' ⁴ (58, 9) 'If any one wished to consider the matter.' ⁵ *usque ad id temporis.* ⁶ (72) 'When, after the custom of the Byzantines, the army was consulted.' ⁷ (59, 3) Use the impersonal verb: (60, 4). ⁸ (58, 8) *qualis esset*, or simply *condiciones*.

IV[✓]

¹ He had first to restore some degree of order and discipline in the ranks; and so little trust did he put in his troops that he did not venture on any conflicts in the open field. But he surrounded the city with a trench and a double wall, and stopped up the approach by the river Douro. He employed no other means to subdue the city, for his soldiers could scarcely be restrained from flight, ² even by his presence, if the Numantines made a sally. Hunger meanwhile slowly performed its ³ cruel work, but the city did not surrender ⁴ until the last extremity, and after unspeakable sufferings. After the capitulation, a very large number of the citizens put an end to their own lives, and to the lives of their wives and children, ⁵ so that a small and miserable remnant only appeared before the conqueror. Thirty were reserved to adorn Scipio's triumph, the rest were sold into slavery.—*BERKLEY'S Rome.*

¹ First period to 'open field,' second to 'cruel work,' third to end. The general idea (72) in second and third being 'Though he employed . . ., hunger did the work. But since the city . . ., few gave themselves up . . ., of which . . .' ² *vel ipso praesente* (58, 2). ³ 'the matter was accomplished by hunger.' ⁴ *non nisi ad ultimum inopiae* (115) *adductus.* ⁵ *exigua tantum et misera superstitum manus.*

V

¹ 'I enter upon action with the fairest prospect of success. The justness of my cause, the union of my subjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all combine to insure it. Of all these advantages the king of France is destitute; and were my resources no more certain, and my hopes of victory no better founded than his, I would instantly throw myself at his feet, and suppliantly implore his mercy.' This long harangue the emperor delivered with a loud voice, a haughty tone, and the greatest vehemence of expression and gesture. The French ambassadors, ² who did not fully comprehend his meaning, as he spoke in the Spanish tongue, were totally confused, and knew not how to answer ³ so sudden an accusation.

¹ Introduce the speech with the sentence which follows its close in the English (73), and write the *Or. Obl.* *Hic imperator magna voce . . . multa superbe locutus est*, etc. ² *parum intelligebant quid vellet dicere* (58, 8). ³ 'Attacked by so sudden an accusation, the French ambassadors . . . did not know what to answer.'

VI

¹ Hereupon Archidamus ² proposed to them to hand over their town and territory to the Lacedaemonians, together with a ³ schedule of all the property which they contained, ⁴ engaging to hold them in trust and to cultivate the land till the war was terminated, ⁵ when everything should be safely restored. In the meantime, the Plataeans might retire whithersoever they chose, and receive an allowance ⁶ sufficient for their support. The offer seemed fair and tempting, and the majority of the Plataeans ⁷ were for accepting it; but it was resolved first of all to obtain the sanction of the Athenians, ⁸ who, however, exhorted them to hold out, and promised to assist them to the last. ⁹ The Plataeans, afraid to send a herald to the Spartan camp, now proclaimed from the walls their refusal of the proffered terms; when Archidamus in-



voked the gods and heroes of the soil to witness that ¹⁰ it was not until the Plataeans had renounced the oaths which bound them that he had invaded their territory.—SMITH'S *Greece*.

¹ *Hic Archidamus.* ² 'proposed to them,' *suadebat eis.* ³ (58, 7) 'what was in them being written out (*descriptus*).'⁴ 'that he would,' passing (57, 2) into *Or. Obl.* ⁵ *quo tempore*, followed by infinitive (56), or, 'that he would at the end of the war,' etc. ⁶ *tantus . . . quantus.* ⁷ *volo.* ⁸ This must be made a principal statement (72). ⁹ (85) Supply a connection, and make 'Archidamus invoked' principal statement of period (72). ¹⁰ 'that he had not invaded . . . before . . . :'¹¹ *prius . . . quam* (44).

VII ✓

As he approached their city, the Plataeans ¹ despatched a herald to Archidamus to remonstrate against this invasion, and to remind him of ² the solemn oath which Pausanias had sworn, when, after the defeat of the Persians, he offered sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios in the great square of Plataea, and there, in the presence of the assembled allies, bound himself and them to respect and guarantee their ³ independence. ⁴ Archidamus replied that by their oaths they were bound to assist him in the liberation of the rest of Greece; but, if they would not agree to do this, ⁵ their independence should be respected if they only consented to remain neutral. After this summons had been twice repeated, the Plataeans returned for answer that they could do nothing ⁶ without the consent of the Athenians, in whose custody their wives and children now were; ⁷ adding that ⁸ a profession of neutrality might again induce the Thebans to surprise their city.—SMITH'S *Greece*.

¹ 'having sent a legate (or 'by means of a legate') ordered him not to invade,' then pass (57, 2) into *Or. Obl.*: 'let him remember.'² 'that Pausanias, having offered sacrifice . . . had bound himself and them by a solemn oath' (72). ³ *libertas*, or tr. by a phrase 'neither themselves to enslave nor permit others' (58, 7). ⁴ *Ad haec Archidamus* (61, 6): *Illos*, etc. ⁵ 'they should remain free provided they joined neither side.'⁶ *iniussu Atheniensium penes* 'quos . . .'⁷ omit 'adding that.'⁸ 58, 8.

VIII

¹This advice was adopted by the satrap; and, in order to carry it into execution, ²steps were taken to secure the inactivity of the Peloponnesian armament, which, if ³vigorously employed, was powerful enough to put a speedy end to the war. ⁴With this view, the Lacedaemonian commanders were first persuaded to await the arrival of the Phoenician fleet, which, however, ⁵was never intended to appear. ⁶But as this was ⁷a pretext which could not be made available for any length of time, the next argument was in the more solid shape of pecuniary bribes administered to Astyochus and the other Spartan leaders. ⁸Spartan virtue, which exists rather in imagination than reality, was not ⁹proof against the seduction. The Syracusan Hermocrates—for a Sicilian squadron was co-operating with the Peloponnesian fleet—was alone found to be incorruptible.—SMITH'S *Greece*.

¹ First period to 'war' (72): 'The satrap, having adopted this advice (*sententia comprobata*).'² (58, 7) 'took care that it should do nothing.'³ 'with a strenuous leader.'⁴ Simply *Itaque* (61, 11).⁵ 'which was ordered, however, not to sail up.'⁶ 'But Astyochus and, etc., money being paid down, were convinced' (96).⁷ 'since the result (fact; *res* or *eventus*) would convict them of falsehood sometime.'⁸ 'The Spartans, whose virtue,' etc. Work in perhaps *specie* . . . *re*, or *figo*.⁹ 96.

IX

¹Omens of evil import had attended their march from Thebes; and when they encamped within sight of the Lacedaemonians, three out of the seven Boeotarchs were for returning to the city and shutting themselves up in it, after sending away their wives and children to Athens. But Epaminondas ²had too much confidence in his own genius to listen to such timorous counsels. His own mind was proof against the fears of superstition, and luckily some favourable portents now gave encouragement to his troops. A Spartan

exile serving with the Thebans ³ made them remark that on that very spot stood the tomb of two Boeotian virgins who slew themselves in consequence of having been outraged by Lacedaemonians. ⁴ The shades of these injured maidens, he said, would now demand vengeance; and the Theban commanders, seizing the omen, crowned the tomb with wreaths. —SMITH'S *Greece*.

¹ 'Since omens . . . (72), the camp having been pitched . . . , three . . . advised that, having returned . . . , they should shut themselves up.' ² 'But while (*cum*, 78) Epaminondas was more reticent . . . than to (21) . . . and had a mind proof . . . so (*tum*) luckily (*divino quodam casu*).' ³ *docuit* or *memoravit*. ⁴ 'injured maidens' must be omitted as an English mannerism; the idea can be retained by 'for their injuries' after 'vengeance' (129 b).

X

¹ The attack of a multitude like that of Mardonius could not under any circumstances be made so rapidly as to take the Greeks by surprise; but the latter were forewarned of it by a secret visit from Alexander, king of Macedon, ² who, riding up to the Athenian advanced posts in the middle of the night, ³ desired to speak with Aristides and the other generals. ⁴ Proclaiming his earnest sympathy for the Grecian cause, as well as the hazard which he incurred by this nightly visit, he apprised them that Mardonius, though eager for a battle long ago, ⁵ could not by any effort obtain favourable sacrifices, but was determined on an attack the next morning. 'Be ye prepared ⁶ accordingly; and if ye succeed in this war,' said he, 'remember to liberate me from the Persian yoke; I too am a Greek by descent, and thus risk my head because I cannot endure to see Greece enslaved.'

¹ 'Mardonius' army, such was its number, could not by a sudden attack,' etc. ² (73) Begin second period here: *Hic ad Atheniensium excubias equo advectus* (60, 10). ³ *impetravit ut colloqueretur* . . . ⁴ (57, 2) Pass into *Or. Obl.*, splitting up the sentences (89 c): 'he very earnestly favoured; he incurred . . . ; Mardonius, this long while desirous of battle . . . ' ⁵ Try phrase in 111 e. ⁶ *itaque* (56).

XI

The first impetuous onslaught of the phalanx was so formidable that the general confessed afterwards he had for a moment trembled. ¹ But it was only for a moment; fortune changed sides, and in one hour the Macedonian infantry was cut to pieces; ² the cavalry fled ignominiously, ³ the King being himself ⁴ one of the first fugitives. With the gold he loved he escaped to Samothracia, vainly hoping that the ⁵ sanctity of the place would protect both him and it. ⁶ On the way he had put to death one of his attendants (whom he may have suspected of treachery), and the rest forsook him to a man. ⁷ Finding he would not be safe in his asylum, and ⁸ failing in an attempt to escape, he gave himself up to the Roman admiral, shedding unmanly tears, and was reserved to adorn the triumph of the conqueror, ⁹ spending the rest of his days as a state-prisoner at Rome. His son lived in Italy as a secretary.—BERKLEY's *Rome*.

¹ *Mox (Brevis) tamen versa fortuna.* ² *fugam turpem capesserunt* (60, 3). ³ Here begin second period, with 'King' as general subject (74), which continue to 'to a man.' ⁴ *fugae princeps.* ⁵ *religio* (110). ⁶ (78) There is an opposition implied in this sentence. ⁷ This clause gives the consequence of the last (85): *Itaque*, etc. ⁸ *evadere frustra conatus.* ⁹ Here a fresh period (73), lasting to end of piece may, if desired, be begun. Observe the illogical grouping of action in the English sentence (75).

XII

¹ These were not the days of the war with Hannibal, when Rome, well-nigh crushed by repeated defeats, displayed so marvellous an energy in every quarter where danger threatened her interests; no fresh forces were raised. ² Sulla, indeed, had been commissioned by the Senate to embark for Asia with his victorious army, as soon as the insurrection was finally extinguished; but when the next year opened, that

work was not accomplished, ³ and Mithridates had not been inactive. The Roman governors in Asia had but few troops at their disposal, and these chiefly composed of the effeminate Asiatics. The King of Pontus was at the head of an enormous army, which, made up of Scythians, Greeks, and Asiatics, was more imposing from its numbers than really strong. His fleet was very powerful, and he entered into alliance with the pirates of the Mediterranean, who pursued their work of devastation with his sanction and support.—BERKLEY'S *Rome*.

¹ *Non iam, ut cum pugnabatur contra Hannibalem, Romani* (58, 4) *ubique . . . : nec delectus habebatur.* ² (85) 'Sulla (74) to whom a commission had been given that when the rebels (58) had been subdued he should, etc. (122 a, 1) . . . , had not yet finished the work.' ³ Here begin fresh period (73): *Neque interea Mithridates nihil effecerat.* Then the 'skeleton' of the prose will be as follows: 'for while the Roman (78), etc. . . . the King was at the head, etc. . . . But this made up as it was, etc. . . . *magis specie quam* (77 b) *re terrebat.* On the other hand, with his fleet he (74) was powerful,' etc. The English presents the facts in no very regular or antithetic fashion, so the Latin version must necessarily somewhat suffer.

XIII

Pompey had done much, and done it well; ¹ but the vanity he displayed bordered on the absurd. ² No homage, ³ no adulation, seemed too great to the hero who boasted that he had subjugated twelve millions of men, and carried his triumphant arms to the Maeotic, the Caspian, and the Red Seas; and it could not be denied that the Roman treasury was in receipt of nearly half as much again as its former income. ⁴ So boundless was the applause and exultation of the popular party, that ⁵ voices were heard asking on the other side whether Lucullus had not borne the brunt of the conflict, and acted with far more daring and energy ⁶ than Pompey, who had never moved unless supported by superiority of forces, and, after his easy triumphs in Judaea and other petty states, had

left the powerful Parthian nation neighbours on the most uneasy terms, ⁷ in a relationship that was neither peace nor war.—BERKLEY'S *Rome*.

¹ 'to people looking at his vanity (*arrogantia*) he was almost a laughing-stock.' ² (85) Begin with *quippe* (for) : it is a justification of preceding statement. ³ *nulla adulantium observantia* (58, 5), or *laudes*. ⁴ 'But while the people extolled his deeds.' ⁵ 'voices' either by *voces* (58, 5 ; 60, 4) quite literally, or say, *contra fremere optimates*, and pass (57, 2) into *Or. Obl.* ⁶ *illum, nisi suis hostem superantibus* (58), etc. ⁷ *ita reliquissē (23) ut neque hostes . . . , or, ambigua bellum inter pacemque condicione.*

XIV

¹ These measures might have exasperated the conqueror, and ² voices were not wanting in his council urging him to vengeance against the city whose inhabitants for twenty years had thwarted his projects, when ³ on the very point of being accomplished ; but Philip, who well knew ⁴ the importance of this city, said to those who wished for its destruction : 'Have I done so much for glory, ⁵ and shall I now annihilate its ⁶ fountain ? Through Antipater and his son Alexander, he offered peace ⁷ on the following conditions :—They were to send delegates to the assembly of all the states of Greece, which should be held next spring at the Isthmus of Corinth, to settle the number of men which each state ⁸ should furnish towards the Persian expedition ; they were to surrender the island of Samos, where their fleet was usually stationed, and which was the principal ⁹ bulwark of their maritime possessions. ¹⁰ In return, the undisturbed possession of Attica, and of their ¹¹ hereditary constitution, should be secured to them.

¹ (78) Make an antithesis (by *cum . . . tum*, or otherwise) between the measures in themselves and the advice. ² Either literally (58, 5) : 'voices of those persuading were heard,' or, 'there were not wanting in the council who persuaded.' ³ *in eo essent ut* ; or, *iamiam consilia exsecuturo viginti annos impedimento fuissent*. ⁴ 58, 8. ⁵ Employ *nedum* (31). ⁶ 60, 8 ; 93. ⁷ *in has leges, ut . . .* ⁸ *praebere deberet*. ⁹ 93. ¹⁰ (61, 12) *contra placere, eos Atticam . . . tenere*. ¹¹ 58, 6.

XV

¹ Before the siege was concluded, the king had already received a second embassy from Darius, offering such splendid terms of alliance that at the council where they were discussed ² Parmenion declared that if he were Alexander he should accept them. 'So should I,' rejoined Alexander, 'if I were Parmenion.' ³ These terms were the payment of 10,000 talents as the ransom for his family, the cession of all provinces west of the Euphrates, and the hand of his daughter in marriage. ⁴ But, however tempting these offers might be to the older man, who would not perhaps be sorry to return home, they had no attraction for the younger, ⁵ who had schemes of an ever-widening ambition in his head, and was brimful of restless energy. ⁶ Alexander replied almost exactly as before. ⁷ These things which Darius offered were his already. ⁸ Let Darius come and see him if he had anything to ask. ⁹ Then the great king (we are told) abandoned embassies as useless, and set about preparing war.

¹ 76. ² (74) 'to Parmenion saying . . . (Or. Obl.), he replied, For neither would I if . . . refuse them.' ³ (85) *Quippe eiusmodi erant (leges) ut, etc., or Quippe Darius familiam suam . . . redimebat . . . , denique ipsius filiam . . . despondebat.* ⁴ (78) *et illum quidem iam seniore et (haud scio an) (credendum est) domum revisendi (fortasse) cupidum poterant eiusmodi condiciones movere : sed alterum, etc.* ⁵ (61, 10) *ampliora in dies consilia secum agitantem.* ⁶ (85) *Itaque eadem ferme, etc.* ⁷ Or. Obl. ⁸ *protinus ipse . . . peteret.* ⁹ *Quo audito (58, 9) . . . tum demum bellum paravisse.*

XVI

¹ The desertion of the cause of Grecian independence by so many of the Greeks did not shake the resolution of Sparta and of Athens. ² The Athenians, especially, ³ set a noble example of an enlarged patriotism. They became reconciled to the Aeginetans, and thus gained for the common cause the

powerful navy of their rival. They readily granted to the Spartans the supreme command of the forces by sea as well as by land, although they furnished two-thirds of the vessels of the entire fleet. ⁴ Their illustrious citizen, Themistocles, was the ⁵ soul of the congress. He sought to ⁶ enkindle in the other Greeks some portion of the ardour and energy which he had succeeded in breathing into the Athenians. The confederates bound themselves to resist to the death; and, ⁷ in case of success, to consecrate to the Delphian god a tenth of the property of every Grecian state which had surrendered to the Persians ⁸ without being compelled by ⁹ irresistible necessity.—SMITH'S *Greece*.

¹ (58) Get rid of the abstract expressions: 'the Spartans and Athenians were not shaken in their determination' (*in sententia manere*). ² Make this period extend to 'fleet' (71, 72, 74): 'The Athenians who had gained . . . and readily granted . . . set an example.' ³ 'showed that they consulted for the good of all Greeks, not for themselves alone' (58, 7). ⁴ Make the period continue to 'Athenians.' ⁵ Either say 'chief (*dux* or *princeps*) of the congress' (*concilium*); or *ducem se conventui praebens*; or simply, *dux sedulus*, transferring 'congress' to below, 'the other Greeks in the congress.' ⁶ 93. ⁷ 61, 11; 60, 13. ⁸ *nisi si*. ⁹ 122 a, 1 a.

XVII

¹ Little groups might be seen gathered together in the streets angrily discussing ² the question of an attack, quoting oracles and prophecies which assured them of success, and indignantly denouncing Pericles as a traitor and a coward for not leading them out to battle. ³ Among the leaders of these attacks upon Pericles, Cleon, ⁴ the future demagogue, now first rising into public notice, was conspicuous. ⁵ It required all the firmness of Pericles ⁶ to stem the torrent of public indignation. He had resolved not to venture an engagement in the open field, and steadily refused in the present excited state of the public mind to call an assembly of the people, in which, no doubt, some desperate resolution would have been adopted. In order, however, to divert in some degree the

popular clamour, he permitted the Athenian and Thessalian cavalry to make sallies for the purpose of harassing the⁷ plundering parties of the enemy, and of protecting as much as possible the lands adjacent to the city.—SMITH'S *Greece*.

¹ (61, 5; 89 a) As this is a piece giving in its earlier part a spirited description, avoid long periods: use short sentences and historic infinitives. ² (58, 8) 'whether a sally ought to be made (*erumpendum esset*) upon the enemy.' ³ (72) Make 'inveighed against Pericles' principal statement. ⁴ 'who, about to be leader of the people, was now first being conspicuous.' ⁵ (72) Continue period to 'adopted': 'Pericles, though there was need of . . . yet since he had determined (8) not to venture . . . , fearing lest, feelings being so disturbed, some rash design might be adopted (*ineo*) . . . refused,' etc. ⁶ 'to resist (99, 2), as a torrent, the public anger.' ⁷ 133.

XVIII

¹ The alleged intention to dethrone the king had no foundation in fact. But it is likely that Buckingham had spoken of the king in his conversation as disrespectfully as he had written to him in his letters. ² At all events, there was enough of truth in the charge to make James ³ very uncomfortable. ⁴ He must have known that even if it was not true that he was being dragged against his will by Buckingham into a course of action which he disliked, he had at least entered upon a path which, ⁵ but for Buckingham, he would never have chosen. ⁶ He now ⁷ expressed his dissatisfaction in bitter words: ⁸ 'His son,' he said, 'before his visit to Spain, was as well affected towards that nation as heart could desire, and as well disposed as any son in Europe, but now he was strangely carried away with rash and youthful counsels, and followed the humours of Buckingham.'

¹ (78) 'While in reality they were deceived who said, etc. . . . yet (*tum*) it is to be believed that he both in daily conversation with friends and in letters sent to the man himself had used too little respect.' ² *Quicquid* (45) *id erat*. ³ (11) *satis causae cur I. sollicitaretur*. ⁴, ⁶ Add connexion (85). ⁵ *nisi auctore* (*duce*) *B.*: 58, 2. ⁷ Simply 'complained.' ⁸ 57, 2.

XIX

¹ Caesar marched thither, and the Germans entered into negotiations with him for settlements in Gaul. These he was not willing to grant, ² but recommended them to join the Ubii, who were hard pressed by the Suevi, and would be glad of their support. Upon this further delays took place, and ³ the suspicion arose in Caesar's mind ⁴ that the only object of the negotiators was to gain time until the arrival of the main body of their cavalry should give them the superiority. This suspicion was confirmed by an attack made by a body of German horse upon his own advanced guard, which caused severe loss. ⁵ The general determined to retaliate for the supposed treachery, and when the chiefs appeared next day to excuse the violation of the truce, he ordered them to be detained, and an immediate attack to be made upon the hostile camp. ⁶ Caesar's conduct on this occasion was severely and justly blamed in the senate, but ⁷ the proposal of Cato, that the general who had thus violated the law of nations should be given up to the barbarians whom he had injured, was not considered feasible.—BERKLEY'S *Rome*.

¹ (72) First period to 'support': 'and the Germans,' tr. by subord. sent. or abl. abs. ² Pass (57, 2) directly into *Or. Obl.* ³ 'To Caesar suspecting (58) . . . the fact that (15) an attack was made . . . confirmed the matter.' ⁴ *hostes per legatos agere ut* . . . ⁵ (85) *Itaque, scilicet ut* . . . (the *scilicet* will convey the idea of 'supposed'). ⁶ Contrast the statements (78). ⁷ 58, 2.

XX

When at last Roman ambassadors appeared to demand the disavowal of Hannibal's proceedings, and the surrender of his person, the Carthaginians ¹ were inspired by a higher spirit than heretofore. ² No doubt, too, they justly deemed that the surrender of a victorious chief at the head of 120,000 troops, ³ whose only bond of union was their enthusiastic devotion to himself, and ⁴ who was also popular with the commonalty at home, ⁵ was more easily demanded than effected. ⁶ They sought

to turn the subject into a discussion of the ⁷ justifiability of the attack upon the Spanish city, ⁸ but Fabius interrupted them. Gathering together the folds of his toga, as though he held something enveloped therein, he said, 'I bring you here peace and war, which do you choose?' 'We leave the choice to you,' was the reply. 'Then I offer war,' said the Roman ambassador; and the Carthaginians answered, 'We accept it.'—BERKLEY'S *Rome*.

¹ Avoid writing 'being inspired . . . justly deemed' (72). ² *Profecto*, or *Creden um est*, etc. ³ 'whom nothing but the strong love of himself kept to other.' 'and also (*idem*) agreeable to the *plebs* at home.' ⁵ 'it was easier to order than to bring about that . . . ' (58, 7). ⁶ (85) Supply appropriate connection. ⁷ Get rid of the abstract (58, 8). ⁸ Make the break here (73): *Tum Fabius, sinu ex toga facto* . . . (*Or. Rect.*), *cui succlamatum est* (*Or. Obl.* 76) . . . and when he had said, (*Or. Obl.*) . . . , the Carthaginians replied,' (*Or. Obl.*)

XXI

But the Sienese, instead of sinking into despair ¹ upon this cruel disappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, with that undaunted fortitude which the love of liberty alone can ² inspire. ³ This generous resolution was warmly seconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garrison in the town. The active and enterprising courage which he had displayed on many occasions had procured him this command; and ⁴ as he had ambition which aspired at the highest military dignities, without any pretensions to attain them, but what he could derive from merit, he determined to distinguish his defence of Siena by extraordinary efforts of valour and perseverance. ⁵ For this purpose he repaired and strengthened the fortifications with unwearied industry; he trained the citizens to the use of arms, and accustomed them to go through the fatigues and dangers of service in common with the soldiers.

¹ *Spe sola auxilii casu tam iniquo deiecti, constituebant tamen*, etc. ² *addo*. ³ (58) Use concrete expression: *Neque civibus tam praeclare obstinatis defuit*, etc. ⁴ Here begin new period descriptive of Monluc (73): *Hic summorum honorum militarium cupidus idemque*. . . . ⁵ *Itaque* (85).

XXII

¹ But a shepherd, in pursuing a goat which had strayed from his flock, having discovered an unknown path by which it was possible to ascend to the top of the rock, came with this seasonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. ² A small band of chosen soldiers was instantly ordered to follow this guide. They set out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the summit unperceived; and at an hour which had been agreed on, when Maurice began the assault on the one side of the castle, they appeared on the other, ready to scale the walls, which were feeble in that place because it had been hitherto deemed inaccessible. ³ The garrison, struck with terror at the sight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themselves perfectly secure, immediately threw down their arms. Maurice, ⁴ almost without bloodshed, and (which was of greater consequence to him) without loss of time, took possession of a place ⁵ the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmost efforts of his valour and skill.—ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

¹ 'But at this juncture (*discrimen*) a certain shepherd brought word to Maurice that he . . . had discovered,' etc. ² (72, 74, 76) 'A chosen band ordered to follow him, when, having set out at even, the roughness of the way having been overcome with great labour and danger, they had secretly arrived at the top, Maurice making an attack . . . on one side, appearing suddenly at the other prepared to ascend,' etc. ³ *Hic praesidium, hostibus . . . conspectis, obstupefactum arma dare.* ⁴ 'almost no slaughter, no delay, which was of more value, being made.' ⁵ 'on which he might have spent (*impendo*) . . . while he reduces it': or, 'the taking (*expugnatio*) of which might have required (*requiro*),' etc.

XXIII

But before continuing his operations, Lord Fairfax, ¹ anxious to prevent further suffering, ² sent an offer of complete amnesty to all the insurgents below the rank of captain,

³ the ringleaders surrendering at discretion. The reply was that if another proposal was sent to the soldiers separately, excluding their officers, the messenger would be ⁴ hanged. ⁵ If the ringleaders continued the defence after this offer, it would be for the sole object of securing their personal safety, ⁶ respecting which they showed extreme anxiety. Regardless of the sufferings around them, ⁷ and with the one selfish thought of making good their escape, they prolonged the defence from day to day; watching anxiously for a chance of breaking through the besieging force, and of leaving their humbler comrades to shift for themselves. There is no doubt they would have succeeded in effecting their escape and getting away to the main body of the army, ⁸ but the guides, who were to have opened a way through the intricate forests and marshes which lay before them, ran away and ⁹ left them to retrace their steps in the darkness as best they could.—MARKHAM'S *Fairfax*.

¹ (58, 8) *ne plura oppidani paterentur*. ² *per nuntium promisit*, . . . (58, 7). ³ (74) *principibus seditionis se, ut videretur, usurum*. ⁴ *in cruce affixum iri*. ⁵ A remark of the historian: *Et iam perspicuum erat*. . . . ⁶ (73) Begin fresh period here; and employ historic infinitives and short sentences (89 a). ⁷ (96) *ipsi pro se fugam parare; interea tempus producere* . . . ; *simul erumpendi occasionem captare*. ⁸ (74) *nisi a ducibus* . . . *destituti*, etc. ⁹ 61, 12.

XXIV

¹ Meanwhile a messenger arrived ² in hot haste, and announced the approach of a large army to attack the town. These tidings threw the governor into a state of the greatest alarm. ³ He knew that he could count but little upon the sympathy, much less upon the co-operation, of the lower classes: he even feared they might take an active part against him by joining the enemy. His military garrison was small, and his provisions would certainly fail in case of a protracted siege. Again there seemed but little prospect of relief from

the outside. ⁴ His only chance lay in intimidating the populace before they had an opportunity of betraying him. Accordingly ⁵ he issued a proclamation to the effect that no one should ⁶ stir outside the gates on pain of death; he forbade the citizens to meet under any pretence, and ⁷ fixed a heavy penalty for the breach of this regulation. ⁸ He ended by declaring his intention of holding out to the last, for he had plenty of provisions (which was false), and he had good reason for believing that the enemy's ⁹ siege train was in a defective state.

¹ First Period to 'alarm' (72). ² *concitato advectus equo*. ³ 'that the plebs would not only not (or 21) give him aid, but would not even in feeling favour him: that it was even to be feared,' etc. (89 c): the *Or. Obl.* will last, of course, to 'betraying him.' ⁴ 'it was his only safety, if,' etc. ⁵ *edixit ne quis* (61, 10). ⁶ *pedem proferre* (95). ⁷ *gravi sanxit poena* (60, 3). ⁸ *Denique*, and pass into *Or. Obl.* (57, 2). ⁹ *desse machinas ad obsidionem*.

XXV

¹ Their Plataean friends wished to lead them at once to the houses of their adversaries, and ² to glut their hatred by a massacre. ³ But the Thebans were more anxious to secure possession of the city, and feared to provoke resistance by an act of violence. Having therefore halted in the market-place, they made a proclamation inviting all who were willing that Plataea should become again, as it had been in former times, a member of the Boeotian league, to join them. ⁴ The Plataeans who were not in the plot imagined the force by which their city had been surprised to be stronger than it really was, and as no hostile treatment was offered to them, remained quiet, and entered into a parley with the Thebans. In the course of these conferences they gradually discovered that the number of the enemy was small, and might easily be overpowered; and as most of them ⁵ were attached to the Athenians, or at least strongly averse to an

alliance with Thebes, they resolved to make the attempt, while the darkness might favour them and ⁶ perplex the strangers.

¹ Explain, e.g. 'Those who had brought in the Thebans.' ² *odium caede facta satiare.* ³ (72) *Hi tamen* (85) . . . *veriti* (76) *ne* . . . , *per praeconem edixerunt* : 'were willing' (9). ⁴ (72) *Itaque* . . . , *rati urbem occupari* . . . , *primo* (86) *quiescebant* . . . ; *deinde postquam ita colloquendo compererant* . . . , *constituerunt*, etc. ⁵ *vel* . . . , *vel saltem* . . . ⁶ *nocte* . . . *loci ignaros impediēte.*

XXVI

¹ Now am I the enemy of any class, when I come forward to state facts like these, and to ² explain principles such as these? Do not suppose, because ³ I stand here oftener to find fault with the laws of my country than to praise them, ⁴ that I have less sympathy for my country or my countrymen than other men have. I want our country to be populous, to be powerful, and to be happy. ⁵ But this can only be done by just laws ⁶ justly administered. I plead only for what I believe to be just. I wish to do wrong to no man. For twenty-five years I have stood before audiences—great meetings of my countrymen—pleading ⁷ only for justice. I need not tell you that my ⁸ clients have not been generally the rich and the great, but rather the poor and the lowly. They cannot give me place and dignity and wealth ; ⁹ but honourable service in their cause yields me that which is of higher and more lasting value—the consciousness that I have laboured to expound and uphold laws which, though they were not given¹⁰ amid the thunders of Sinai, are not less the commandments of God, and not less intended to promote and secure the happiness of men.

¹ Put in *Or. Obl.*, imitating a speech of Livy (89 c). ² *rationes explicare.* ³ *in contionem ascendere.* ⁴ *idcirco* (35) *minus.* ⁵ 'since this could only be done . . . , he only demanded what was just, wished to hurt no one.' ⁶ 'just judges.' ⁷ Place this first in the sentence, *ut id fieret quod aequum esset*, for emphasis' sake (63 ; 85, 3). ⁸ Use the phrase *patrocinium suscipere* (93 ; 94). ⁹ *sed causa fortiter suscepta* (85, 3) *munus id quod* . . . *esset, mentem recti consciam, (quippe) qui bene meritis esset, leges explicando* . . . ¹⁰ *caelitus demissus* (95).

XXVII

¹ Meanwhile the succours detached by the grand-master had no sooner entered ² the bastion, than, seeing their brethren so hard beset, and the Moslem flags planted along the ³ parapet, they cried their war-cry, and fell furiously on the enemy. ⁴ In this they were well supported by the garrison, who gathered strength at the sight of the reinforcement. ⁵ The Turks, now pressed on all sides, gave way. Some succeeded in making their escape by the ladders, as they had entered. Others were hurled down the rocks below. ⁶ Most, turning on their assailants, fell fighting on the rampart which they had so nearly won. ⁷ Those who escaped hurried to the shore, hoping to gain the boats, which lay off at some distance; when a detachment, sallying from the bastion, intercepted their flight. Thus at bay, they had no alternative but to fight. But their spirit was gone; and they were easily hewed down by their pursuers. ⁸ Some, throwing themselves on their knees, piteously begged for mercy. 'Such mercy,' shouted the victors, 'as you showed at St. Elmo!' and buried their daggers in their bodies.—PRESCOTT.

¹ (72) *Dum haec aguntur, subsidia . . . submissa, ut primum . . . , cum suos viderent . . . , sublato clamore, etc.* ² *castellum.* ³ *murus* (103, 1). ⁴ 'the garrison itself, to whom their appearance (*adventus*) had given fresh courage (*vires addere*, or, *animum augere*).'⁵ *Itaque*: use hist. infinitives (89 a). ⁶ *Pars maxima, in hostes conversa, etc.* ⁷ 'But (72; 74) those who were escaping, their flight, as they hurried to the shore with the hope of seizing . . . , being interrupted by those issuing from the bastion, so at last reduced to desperation and compelled to fight, yet their spirits being broken, were easily cut down by those pursuing.'⁸ 'To some of which . . . begging that they might be spared, "Because, forsooth, you spared (*Scilicet* [or *An*] *quia vos pepercistis*) our men;" [or, "Did you (*Num* *vos*) spare our men?"] shouted the victors: at the same time they bury (*infigere*) their daggers (*cultri*) in their breasts.'

XXVIII

¹ The magnates were enraged at the sudden rise of a foreigner to a ² position only second to that of Earl Richard,

and the proximity was so unpleasant to the latter, that he³ headed the malcontents and personally attacked the king with threats and upbraidings. ⁴ 'Was this the result of all his brother's promises,' said the earl, 'that he removed his own countrymen from his councils to replace them by aliens, that he⁵ deigned not to ask the advice of his constitutional advisers before bestowing his ward in marriage upon whomsoever he would?' ⁶ The whole kingdom was in an uproar: the legate could not get a hearing. The magnates drew their forces together: the citizens of London, twenty years later Simon's staunchest allies, joined in the cry. The king, overwhelmed and confused, was only able to gain a short respite for deliberation. ⁷ It was hoped on all sides that Earl Richard would avail himself of the opportunity to sweep from the land⁸ the plague of aliens, and blessings were showered on his head. ⁹ But by the time the barons were assembled, intrigue had done its work. By his submissive bearing, by promises and gifts, ¹⁰ it has been said, ¹¹ perhaps by his personal charm or his wife's intercession, Simon had won over his brother-in-law, and with the loss of their leader the band of insurgents melted away, cursing the fickleness of him who had been thought ¹² a staff of strength.—PROTHERO, *Simon de Montfort*.

¹ (72) 'While it seemed . . . an insult (*res indigna*) . . . that a foreigner (58, 7) . . ., this man (Richard) (58, 7), annoyed that any one was his rival, attacked the king.' ² 'a position (*honoris gradus*), Richard excepted, highest in the state.' ³ *factus dux imprbtorum*. ⁴ (57, 2) *An vero huc evenisse . . . ?* ⁵ 'scorning those whom he ought to have admitted to his council.' ⁶ (72, or 89 a) A series of short sentences, or, a period ending at 'for deliberation' (85, 1). *Universa inde turbata civitate . . ., cum urbani quoque . . . collectis optimatum (97) copiis suas addidissent, regi non nisi breve spatium . . . dabatur.* ⁷ (58, 9) *Omnes interea sperare, etc.* ⁸ (99, 2) *alienigenas tamquam pestem.* ⁹ 'But when Simon, the forces of the Optimates not yet having been collected, using (96) various devices (*artes*), by submissiveness (*per obsequium*) . . ., had already won over the brother of his wife, they (the *Optimates*) melted away (*dilabor*).'¹⁰ *si auctoribus quibusdam credendum est.* ¹¹ *suo ipsius fortasse formae decore.* ¹² 95.

XXIX

¹ The news excited no alarm at the French Court. ² There it was not doubted that William would soon be compelled to abandon his enterprise with grievous loss and ignominy. The town was strong: the castle was believed to be impregnable: the magazines were filled with provisions and ammunition ³ sufficient to last till the time at ⁴ which the armies of that age were expected to retire into winter quarters: the garrison consisted of sixteen thousand ⁵ of the best troops in the world: they were commanded by an excellent general: nor ⁶ was it doubted that Villeroy would march to his assistance, and that the besiegers would then be in much more danger than the besieged. ⁷ These hopes were kept up by the despatches of Villeroy. He proposed, he said, first to annihilate the army of Vaudemont, and then to drive William from Namur. ⁸ Vaudemont might try to avoid an action; but he could not escape. The Marshal ⁹ went so far as to promise his master news of a complete victory ¹⁰ within twenty-four hours. ¹¹ Lewis passed a whole day in impatient expectation. At last, instead of an officer of high rank laden with Dutch and English standards, arrived a courier bringing news that Vaudemont had effected a retreat with scarcely any loss, and was safe under the walls of Ghent.—MACAULAY.

¹ 'This news being brought, there was no excitement' (59, 3).
² (58, 9) *Dictitare* (hist. infin.) *omnes*, etc. (89 c). ³ *tantum cibi . . . quantum*, etc. ⁴ *ad id temporis quo (ita tunc mos erat) in hiberna*, etc.
⁵ *milites optimos omnium qui ubique essent ad sedecim millia, quibus praeesse* (56), etc. ⁶ *profecto*. ⁷ (85) 'For people considering these things, what was reported by letters; confirmed their hopes': then *Or. Obl.* ⁸ (78, 1 and 5) *posse illum quidem . . . : effugere non posse. qua erat arrogantia* (37). ⁹ *vel uno die interposito*. ¹⁰ 'When Lewis had waited . . ., not only no officer . . . brought . . . standards; but a messenger hurried up,' etc.

XXX

To this the King, who understood well ¹ the court of Rome, made an answer ² rather solemn than serious: signifying, 'That no Prince on earth should be more forward and obedient, ³ both by his person, and by all his possible forces and fortunes, ⁴ to enter into this sacred war, than himself. ⁵ But that the distance of place was such as no forces that he should raise for the seas could be levied or prepared but with double the charge, and double the time at the least, that they might be from the other Princes that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his ships, having no ⁶ galleys, nor ⁷ the experience of his pilots and mariners, could be so apt for those seas as theirs; and therefore that ⁸ his Holiness might do well to move one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by sea. Whereby both all things would be sooner put in readiness, and with less charge, and the emulation and division of command, which might grow between those Kings of France and Spain, ⁹ if they should both join in the war by land upon Graecia, might be wisely avoided; and ¹⁰ that for his part he would not be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet notwithstanding, if both these Kings should refuse, rather than his Holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him as soon as he could be ready; ¹¹ always provided that he might first see all differences of the Christian Princes amongst themselves fully laid down and appeased.'

BACON, *History of King Henry VII.*

¹ *Aulae Romanae* (59) *fraudes*. ² *specie potius* (77' b) *quam re gravis*.

³ *sive ipse suas copias duceret, or iret* (58). ⁴ *deos bello vindicare*.

⁵ 'The other (73; 78) Princes were nearer; he himself, except with double outlay, could not levy,' etc. ⁶ *naves longae*. ⁷ Either use *inscitia*, or trans. 'and that his pilots were ignorant.' ⁸ 129 b.

⁹ *bellum in Graeciam simul inferentes*. ¹⁰ *neque ipsum pro se . . . recusare . . .*; (87) *immo vero si unus et alter rem detractaret, etc.*

¹¹ *omnibus dumtaxat discordiis . . . compositis*.

XXXI

But Porcaro ¹ had learned from the younger Brutus that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed ; ² a party and a conspiracy were gradually ³ formed ; his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers ; ⁴ and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. ⁵ Porcaro appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold ; his voice, his countenance, his gestures bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and means of their enterprise ; the name and liberties of Rome ; the sloth and pride of their tyrants ; ⁶ the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens ; three hundred soldiers and four hundred exiles long exercised in arms or in wrongs ; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. / ⁷ It would be easy, he said, on the next day to seize the ⁸ pope and his cardinals before the doors or at the altar of St. Peter's ; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo ; to extort by the threat of their instant death the surrender of the Castle ; to ascend the vacant capitol / to ring the alarm bell ; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. ⁹ While he triumphed he was already betrayed. The Senator with a strong guard invested the house ; and the unfortunate liberator was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had ¹⁰ anticipated by ¹¹ three hours the execution of his design.—GIBBON.

¹ (76) 'Following the example of Junius, Brutus had decided that to tyrants neither faith nor gratitude was owed.' ² 'And so (85) a conspiracy having been formed, he entered on secret plans.' ³ 'Already his nephew . . . had armed a band of the most zealous.' ⁴ 'he himself at his own house prepared.' ⁵ 'There when, dressed in a robe . . . he had appeared, his voice . . . bespeaking (perhaps *deco*, as the whole tone is somewhat contemptuous) one ready for his country

either to live or to die, in a studied oration he speaks many things about . . . the sloth and pride of their tyrants.' ⁶ '(saying 57, 2) that the citizens were no hindrance, and actually (*adeo*) were favourable to the attempt: that three hundred . . . were present, whose hands the liberty (*licentia*) of avenging themselves armed (*armo*), and that a million sesterces were laid before (them) as a reward of victory.' ⁷ Here pass into *Or. Rect.* to preserve the rapid sequence of events (76). *Quid negotii cras erit . . . ?* ⁸ *Pontifex Maximus*: tr. 'to lead the pope . . . seized before the doors . . . and loaded with chains, under the walls of the citadel (*arx*); to threaten the death of those, on the spot, unless (51, 4; 57, 2) the place shall have been given up: when given up (85, 3) to climb, . . . and then the city being in alarm (*trepidante inde urbe*), to restore . . . ' ⁹ (85; 72) 'But now actually (*adeo*) whilst he boasts thus, betrayed, the prefect of the city surrounding the house . . . , the unfortunate liberator is drawn from a chest, lamenting (*querens atque* (60, 8) *indignans*, put last) that,' etc. ¹⁰ *præcipio*. ¹¹ 'the space of three hours.'

XXXII

¹The conscripts, as the long and brilliant *cortège* of the Emperor passed through their ranks, gazed with delight on the hero who had filled the world with his renown; and the cheers with which he was saluted were almost as loud and general as in the most brilliant period of his career. ²But these cheering signs died away when Napoleon had passed, ³and the first day's march was sufficient to convince every observer that the ancient order and discipline of the army were at an end. During the whole march, ⁴the imperial *cortège* was obliged ⁵to force its way, with almost brutal violence, through the dense cloud of infantry, horsemen, and wagons, which encumbered the highway; ⁶pillage had already commenced on all sides; ⁷and the disorders of the troops not only inflicted on the unhappy inhabitants all the miseries of war, but evinced, even under the eyes of the Emperor, the relaxed discipline and imperfect organisation of his army. ⁸Under the very windows of the hotel which he inhabited, a vast crowd of disorderly soldiers was collected, who, with loud shouts and dissonant cries, continued during the whole night to feed a huge fire by

throwing into it the furniture, beds, and property of the wretched inhabitants.—ALISON.

¹ 'At first the conscripts gazed (*hist. inf.*) at that Emperor whose fame had spread (*percrebresco*) through the world, advancing (*incedo*) through their ranks with a long . . . : (89 a) they received him with cheers so great (*tanto clamore*) and almost so general (*consentiens*) as (53) in the,' etc. ² 'then, when he had passed, these glad signs (*omen*) disappeared.' ³ (73) 'They had not yet gone forward more than one day's march, and now it was plainly visible,' etc. ⁴ *cohors praetoria*, or 'those who were escorting the general.' ⁵ *infensa* (99, 1) *quasi vi perrumpere*. ⁶ Use a verb impersonally (59, 3). ⁷ Omit (89 a) 'and'; turn 'The disorderly soldiers (58) not only, as if war was being made (*inferre*), damage (*affligo*) the wretched inhabitants, but under the eyes of the Emperor,' etc. ⁸ *Idem ipsam ante domum qua deverterat frequentes congregati, totam noctem*, etc.

XXXIII

¹ One would naturally have expected, after ² all the fatigues and dangers through which Caesar had made his way to empire, that ³ he would have chosen to spend the remainder of a declining life ⁴ in the quiet enjoyment of all the honours and pleasures which absolute power and ⁵ a command of the world could bestow; but in the midst of all this glory he was a stranger still to ease: ⁶ he saw the people generally disaffected to him and impatient under his government; and, ⁷ though amused awhile with the splendour of his shows and triumphs, yet regretting severely in cold blood the price that they had paid for them; the loss of their liberty, with the lives of the best and noblest of their fellow-citizens. ⁸ This expedition, therefore, against the Parthians, seems to have been a political pretext for removing himself from the murmurs of the city, and leaving to his ministers ⁹ the exercise of an invidious power, and ¹⁰ the task of taming the spirits of the populace; whilst he, by employing himself in gathering ¹¹ fresh laurels in the East, and extending the bounds and retrieving the honour of the empire against its most dreaded enemy, might

gradually reconcile them to a reign that was ¹²gentle and clement at home, successful and glorious abroad.

MIDDLETON'S *Life of Cicero*.

¹ (72) 'Though one might have expected that Caesar . . . , yet, the people being discontented . . . , in the midst of such great honours he was devoid of quiet.' ² *tot laboribus . . . dum principatum occupat, exhaustis.* ³ 61, 12. ⁴ *reliquos annos . . . quiete consumere fruendo, etc.* ⁵ *orbis terrarum dominatio (imperium).* ⁶ *toto populo . . . imperium suum recusante.* ⁷ (23) *ludis . . . ita paulisper gaudente, ut eundem (populum) (97) serius poeniteret libertatem suam . . . tantulo vendidisse (94), or, libertatis iactura et . . . morte illa constitisse.* ⁸ 'And so, pretending public business, he undertook this expedition' / *scilicet ut . . . se (58, 8) civium querelis subtraheret.* ⁹ *odiosa potestas,* ¹⁰ (58, 8) *dum . . . domare conantur illi.* ¹¹ *novae laudes (97).* ¹² 120.

ORATORY

XXXIV

¹ If in any ordinary case, in any ordinary time, you have any reasonable doubt of guilt, you are bound by every principle of law and justice to acquit. But I would advise you, at a time like this, rather to be lavish than parsimonious in the application of that principle—even though you had the strongest suspicion of his culpability, I would advise you to acquit; ² you would show your confidence in your own strength—that ³ you felt your situation too high to be affected in the smallest degree by the fate of so insignificant an individual. ⁴ Turn to the miserable prisoner himself—tainted and blemished as he may be—even him you may retrieve to his country and his duty by a salutary effort of seasonable magnanimity. ⁵ You will inspire him with reverence for that institution, which knows when to spare as well as when to inflict, and which, ⁶ instead of sacrificing him to a strong suspicion of his criminality, is determined, not by the belief but

by the possibility of his innocence, and dismisses him with indignation and contemptuous mercy.—CURRAN.

¹ First period (72) down to 'advise you to acquit': make an antithesis by *cum* and *tum* (78) between what should be done 'in any ordinary time,' and what 'at a time like this.' *Cum in usitatis causis iudices, cum* (84, 2) *usitatis temporibus . . . ius fasque efflagitant ut absolvatur reus, tum mea sententia, hoc potissimum tempore . . . clementiae (benevolentiae) vestrae magis profusi quam parci debetis esse.*

² A comparison between the gain (1) to the jury, (2) to the prisoner (78). ³ 'that you were set in a higher place than to be affected,' etc. (55, 6). ⁴ *Reum vero* (86) . . . *vel hunc in civitatem, hunc* (84, 2) *in fidem recipere potestis, or, receperitis.* ⁵ *Facietis enim ut eos* (or, *ipsum iudicium*) *veneretur.* ⁶ *non modo non condemnant quod putent . . . sed hoc uno* (15 ; 35) *adducti, non quod ipsis videatur nocens sed quia potest esse innocens . . .*

XXXV

Let us this day be firmly embodied in a cause we equally approve. Let us do this great service to the country ; ¹ then separate and seek opposing camps. ² Let them return with double triumph, if they will, of having conferred an important benefit ³ on their constituents and the nation, and ⁴ a real obligation on the Government. ⁵ Let them have the credit with the country of having defeated the minister's measure ; and the merit with his friends ⁶ of having rescued him from a perilous dilemma. ⁷ Leave us only the silent satisfaction that, without envying the reputation of those whom we were content to follow, ⁸ without being piqued by insinuations against our motives, and without debating whether the minister might not be served by our success, we gave an earnest and zealous assistance in defeating a measure which, under ⁹ the specious pretence of securing our coasts, strikes at the root of our great national defence, and at the heart of the constitution itself.—SHERIDAN.

¹ *diversi contraria castra petamus* (93). ² 'Let them, since they have conferred . . . , win a double victory (*geminatam reportent victoriam*).'

³ *civibus suis et civitati.* ⁴ *senatum beneficio obstrinxerint* (77, 1).

⁵ *Illis agantur gratiae a suis quod* (35) . . . ; *agantur* (84, 2; 88, 3) *ab amicis huius*, etc. ⁶ *quod in re tam ancipiti salutem attulerint.*

⁷ *Nobis, haec nobiscum (domi) reputantibus, sat erit tantum abesse* (21) *ut famae eorum . . . inviderimus . . . , ut operam dederimus*; or, *sat erit non famae quidem invidisse . . .* (78), *sed operam dedisse.* ⁸ '(so far) from being offended (*stomachor*) if (58, 8) any put an evil interpretation (*male interpretari*) on our actions'; or, 'not to be angry with (*aegre ferre*) (those) putting,' etc. ⁹ 'the defence of our coasts being pretended.'

XXXVI

¹ Thus they suffered, in barren anguish and ineffectual bewailings. ² What cause, says the defence of Mr. Hastings, was there for any incidental ills but their own resistance? O audacious fallacy! ³ The cause was nature in the first-born principles of man. It grew with his growth! it strengthened with his strength! ⁴ It taught him to understand; it enabled him to feel: ⁵ for where there is human fate, can there be a penury of human feeling? Where there is injury, will there not be resentment? Is not despair to be followed by courage? ⁶ The God of battles pervades and penetrates the inmost spirit of man, and, rousing him to ⁷ shake off the burden that is grievous, and the yoke that is galling, will reveal ⁸ the law written in his heart, ⁹ and the duties and privileges of his nature—¹⁰ the grand universal compact of man with man! That power is delegated in trust, for the good of all who obey it; ¹¹ that the rights of men must arm against man's oppression, for that indifference were treason to human state; and patience nothing less than blasphemy against the laws which govern the world.—SHERIDAN.

¹ *Audivistis, indices, ea quae passi sunt: nec proderant*, etc. ² *At* (86) *malorum, si quae erant, unica haec causa . . . O praeclarum argumentum!* ³ (63) *Insita erat illa causa, insita, inquam* (84, 1) *nascantibus*; (77 c) *crescentibus increvit et vires concepit* (or, *in adultis adolevit*).

⁴ *Quid enim? Nonne natura ipsa mentem hominibus et sensum ingenuit?*

⁵ 'for where there are changes (*vices*) of fortune, there (66, 5) emotions are not wont to be wanting; and to the injured grief is present, to the desperate courage' (77 c). ⁶ 'Thence roused by a kind of martial

ardour, deeply implanted (95) in veins and marrows, to shake off . . . , each one for himself will learn (*edisco*), etc. ⁷ 'to shake off (*excutere*) from their galled necks the yoke (93) of a burdensome slavery.' ⁸ *leges in animo inscriptas* (93). ⁹ 'what they owe to others, what others to us.' ¹⁰ 'They will learn, in fine, the terms of that great compact made between all (members of) the human race: to wit, that power is entrusted to rulers on condition that (*hac lege*) it is an advantage to (those) ruled (113).' ¹¹ 'that for these rights men must take up arms (58), lest by men they be oppressed, since by doing nothing (*cessando*, or, *nil agendo*) the whole community of mankind is betrayed (94); by suffering anything every law of right is violated (95).'

XXXVII

What, then, can be more unjust, or more ridiculous, ¹ than to represent those persons as countenancing and encouraging perjury and fraud, who only tell you what you yourselves avow, that ² perjury and fraud are and have always been committed ³ under your present system of law; and who, ⁴ inferring that they always will be committed under that system, suggest to you the expediency of amending it? ⁵ Who are the ⁶ encouragers of crime?—⁷ they who, ⁸ finding the existing law notoriously inadequate to counteract the temptation to commit them, propose either to change the law or ⁹ to remove the temptation;—or they ¹⁰ who, content themselves with whimpering over the depravity of human nature, and, instead of endeavouring to prevent the commission of crime, console themselves with the reflection that the mischief to the public is only in proportion to the guilt of the criminal?—CANNING.

¹ 'to pretend (*finjo*) that those countenance (*comprobo*) and encourage (*foveo*)' etc. ² *haec ipsa*. ³ *his quae nunc sint legibus*. ⁴ 'a conjecture having been formed that,' etc., or, less literally, *hoc exemplo usi*: 'expediency' (58, 7). ⁵ *At* (86) *quinam*, or, *Utri tandem*. ⁶ *sceleris fautores*. ⁷ *utrum hi*. ⁸ 'since they have found that the penalties of these laws are . . . not equal to (*tantum valere quantum*, or, *impar*) the rewards of crime.' ⁹ 'to take care that such rewards are not held out (*propono*).'¹⁰ 'who, while they lament (6; 15; 35) that men are depraved, do nothing else (21) to prevent . . . , and have this as a consolation, that they reflect . . . '

XXXVIII

¹ In a crisis of such extraordinary novelty, and such transcendent importance, when interests so mighty were committed to the issue of the struggle, and where that issue, after all that could be done, was necessarily so hazardous and uncertain, it was impossible to take any step, or to offer any counsel, which must not at the time be felt and acknowledged to be of doubtful and questionable policy; and to which it was not foreseen, that in the event of a disastrous result, that disaster would be, however unjustly, ascribed. ² But in this difficulty of choice, were we to do nothing, were we to counsel nothing, till ³ the use of counsel and the period of action were past? ⁴ or were we ⁵ at some risk, but with a determined purpose, conscious of a just end, though necessarily less confident in our means, to take the course which appeared ⁶ upon the whole liable to the fewest objections?—
CANNING.

¹ (72) 'In a matter (*res*) so unusual and so particularly important (*gravis*), which (67; 58, 8), whether it turned out well or ill mattered so much, and also (*eademque*), whatever was done, was . . . , it was impossible for anything to be done or counselled (*consulor*), either which men were not then certain to feel (*fut. part.*) doubtful and dangerous, or to which afterwards, if anything happened unfortunately, they would not, however unjustly, ascribe the result.' ² *At in re tam ancipiti, utrum nihil prius agere . . . debebamus quam . . . ?* ³ *ocasio consulendi . . . copia agendi.* ⁴ *An potius, etc.?* ⁵ *periculose quidem sed obstinatissime* (111 b). ⁶ 'to enter upon a plan, all things having been considered, the best (*or, safest*).'

XXXIX

¹ Again, we were told that ² the system of disgusting and cashiering all the old experienced officers must create insubordination and mutiny in the army, and ultimately bring down the vengeance and indignation of the soldiers upon the convention, and establish a military tyranny. ³ Here again

has ordinary speculation been foiled. The most victorious and popular generals have been arrested at the head of their troops; ⁴ a commissioner from the convention tells the armed line that it is his will; and, incredible as it may appear, there scarcely has been a single instance, countless almost as the number of their troops is, and compulsory as is the mode by which many of those numbers are gained, there scarcely has been a single instance of a military revolt against any of their decrees. ⁵ All argument, therefore, that armies must in their nature disdain the control of such an assembly, must, however reluctantly, be given up, and to that fallacious expectation we can look no more.—SHERIDAN.

¹ *At enim* (86). ² 'The soldiers indignant that (6; 15; 35) the oldest and most experienced centurions . . . , a mutiny having been made, setting discipline at naught would punish the convention and hand over the power to one of their leaders.' ³ 'The fact, however, has again disappointed expectation, and many generals,' etc. ⁴ 'Let a commissioner (*nuntius* or *legatus*) have declared to the army that so it has pleased the senate . . . , scarcely once and again with so many soldiers levied for the most part with so much compulsion—scarcely, I say, have the decrees been disobeyed.' ⁵ 'And so if any one shall argue (58, 8) . . . , to him . . . we shall not listen, nor in future be deceived by so fallacious an expectation.'

XL

¹ True it is, my Lords, they have been guilty of these triumphant processions, which the learned counsel have so heavily condemned. ² The learned counsel might have seen the city pouring out her inhabitants, as if to share the general joy of escaping from some great calamity, in mutual gratulation and public triumph. But why does the learned counsel ³ insist upon this subject before your lordships? ⁴ Does he think such meetings illegal? ⁵ He knows his profession too well not to know the reverse. ⁶ Does he then mean that such things may be subjects of your resentment, though not of your jurisdiction? It

⁷ would have been worth while, before that point had been pressed, to consider between what parties it must suppose the present contest to subsist. ⁸ To call upon the government of the country to let their vengeance fall upon the people ⁹ for their resistance of unconstitutional influence, ¹⁰ is surely an appeal not very consistent with the virtuous impartiality of this august assembly. It is only for those who feel defeat, to feel resentment, or to think of vengeance.—CURRAN.

¹ *Sunt quidem ductae, iudices illae pompae.* ² 'He might himself have seen the whole number of citizens, as though a hanksgiving (93) (*supplicatio*) for some calamity avoided having been decreed, go out (89 a) . . . , be filled (carried away) (*efferi* or *triumphare*) by a common joy, congratulated one another (126 b, 2).' ³ *rem* (103) *insectatur.* ⁴ 'Does he think (it) a crime?' or *An quod putet . . . ?* ⁵ 'But (*At*) he is more skilled in the laws.' ⁶ 'Or (*An*) do such things, although they are not provided against by law (*caveo*), at least seem to be able to excite your anger?' ⁷ 'It was worth while, it having been ascertained (111 e: *explorato, perspecto, comperto*) by whom on either side (or, between what factions) it is requisite that the fight be carried on (*certetur*: 59, 3), then only (*ita demum*) to press the accusation.' ⁸ *Flagitare* (85; 86) *autem ut senatus*, etc. ⁹ 'because they have resisted people using power against the laws (or simply, *invidiosa*, or, *minime popularis, potentia* (59, 1).'¹⁰ *abhorreti d quidem* from the fairness and justice of a most renowned order.'

XLI

We have seen their armies beaten down, their towns taken and razed; yet have not those calamities broken their spirits. ¹ From the ashes of their slaughtered countrymen; and from the smoking ruins of their cities and their hamlets, has burst forth a renovated flame, kindling anew that ardour and enthusiasm which misfortune may for a time ² smother and overwhelm, but has not power to extinguish. A people so animated and so resolute ³ may be exterminated, but they cannot be subdued; from each disaster that befalls them they derive new energies as they do fresh motives of resistance. ⁴ Immediate and decisive success was not to be ex-

pected in such a contest; but surely to have so long protracted the struggle against such an enemy, and under all the disadvantages under which they were forced into it, affords indisputable proof of ⁵ qualifications in the Spaniards, which demand our admiration and esteem.—CANNING.

¹ 'For there has been relighted (*reluxit*, 93) from the very ashes . . . , and from the ruins of burnt-down towns and villages, a new flame, and has kindled,' etc. ² 'which if misfortune has smothered (*compesco*) and overwhelmed (*opprimo*), it is not strong enough to extinguish.' ³ *potest quidem deleri* . . . , *domari non potest* (78, 2 and 5). ⁴ 'While (*cum*) there was no hope that the contest would be decided in the first encounter (*prima acie debellatum* [59, 3] *iri*), yet (*tum* [78, 1]) that' (15) the Spaniards, compelled to fight under such disadvantages (*tanta iniquitate* [60, 6] *rerum*), against such an enemy, have so protracted the war, this affords, etc. . . . ' ⁵ *virtus*.

XLII

¹ Again, then, I ask those who ² rail against innovation; who warn us against departing from the ³ established usage; who dread that we are now, as if for the first time, in danger of ⁴ breaking in upon a wise and perfect ⁵ system: when and where, and for how long ⁶ has that system existed in perfection? ⁷ What is the prescriptive veneration, what the authority of usage and of opinion, due to a code of laws, ⁸ which, after a growth of near two centuries, remained only for fourteen years in a state of maturity, and has been for half a century sinking into gradual decay? ⁹ To what point of time, I again ask them, do they mean to refer, when they exhort us to adhere to the wisdom of our ancestors, and to avoid innovating upon the system which our ancestors had framed?—CANNING.

¹ *Quid? Vos, rogo, qui, etc.* ² *rerum novarum cupidos* (58) *insectamini*. ³ *maiorum* (122 a, 1 b) *instituta*. ⁴ 'who, as though now for the first time the danger threatened (*insto*), fear lest,' etc. ⁵ 'taking anything from.' ⁶ 'laws.' ⁷ 'our state most flourished.' ⁸ 'Or (*An*) can those laws have any sanctity from usage (*usus*), from authority (*auctoritas*), from the consent (*consensio*) of the citizens?'

⁸ 'which, when at last (*tandem aliquando*), after nearly two centuries, they had scarcely come to perfection (*ad summum* (115) *pervenissent*), yet for fourteen years only remained there, and now for (*per*) ten lustres are gradually decaying.' ⁹ 'To what time, I say, looking (67) do you demand that we,' etc.

XLIII

¹ In truth, he suffered judgment to go against him by default. We, ² on this side of the house, did our best to provoke him to the conflict. We called on him to maintain here those doctrines which he had proclaimed elsewhere with so much vehemence, and, ³ I am sorry to be forced to add, with a scurrility unworthy of his parts and eloquence. ⁴ Never was a challenge more fairly given; but it was not accepted. ⁵ The great champion of Repeal ⁶ would not lift our glove. He shrank back; ⁷ he skulked away; ⁸ not, assuredly, from distrust of his powers, ⁹ which have never been more vigorously exerted than in this debate, but evidently from distrust of his cause. / ¹⁰ I have seldom heard so able a speech as his. I certainly never heard a speech so ¹¹ evasive. From the beginning to the end ¹² he studiously avoided saying a single word tending to raise a discussion about that Repeal which, in other places, he constantly affirms to be the sole ¹³ panacea for all the evils by which his country is afflicted.—MACAULAY.

¹ 'He, indeed, while we did our best . . . suffered himself to be condemned *indicta causa*.' ² *ex hac parte curiae*, or simply *hinc*. ³ (84, 6) *O rem pudendam!* or *etiam—dicendum enim est etiamsi pudet—conviciis . . .* ⁴ (58) 'No one ever was more openly challenged; but the champion of Repeal declined (*detrecto*) the contest.' ⁵ *vindex ille patriae suae libertatis*. ⁶ Perhaps *abiecit hastas* (Cic. *Muren.*), or, but with quite a different metaphor, *caestus inducere volebat* (95). ⁷ *evasit*. ⁸ '*scilicet, non quod* (35) he distrusted himself, *sed profecto quia* (he distrusted [61]) his own cause.' ⁹ 'for indeed (*neque enim*) never had he spoken more vigorously.' ¹⁰ Contrast clauses by *ut . . . sic* (78, 4). ¹¹ 'less to the point (*res*).'¹² 'so much did he not wish (*adeo non*) to bring the subject into discussion, that he did not even say a single word about that liberty which,' etc. ¹³ *remedium* (93).



XLIV

¹ It is true that the early history of this great revolution is chequered with guilt and shame. It is true that the founders of our Indian Empire too often abused the strength which they derived from superior energy and superior knowledge. It is true that, with some of the highest qualities of the race from which they sprang, they combined some of the worst defects of the race over which they ruled. How should it have been otherwise? ² Born in humble stations, accustomed to earn a slender maintenance by obscure industry, they found themselves transformed in a few months from clerks drudging over desks, or captains in marching regiments, into statesmen and generals, with armies at their command, with the revenues of kingdoms at their disposal, with power to make and depose sovereigns at their pleasure. ³ They were what it was natural that men should be who had been ⁴ raised by so rapid an ascent to so dizzy an eminence, profuse and rapacious, imperious and corrupt.—MACAULAY.

¹ *Verum (86; 47 b) esto: factum sit (or 60, 3) novandī initium per flagitium et dedecus . . . Num aliter fieri potuit? or, At enim (86) factum est . . . (a) Quid ergo? num aliter . . . ? (b) Fateor, sed aliter . . .* ² 'Men who, born in humble positions, accustomed to support life (*tolerare vitam*) . . . had been clerks busied in (*intentus*) making up accounts, or humble centurions, these (66, 5) after a few months were over a province, were made generals, to them armies were handed over.' ³ *Itaque (85).* ⁴ *tam rapido ascensu ad amplissimum honoris gradum pervenire (95).*

XLV

There is danger that, at this conjuncture, ¹ men of more zeal than wisdom may obtain ² a fatal influence over the public mind. ³ With these men will be joined others, who have neither zeal nor wisdom, ⁴ dregs of society which, ⁵ in times of violent agitation, are tossed up from the bottom to

the top, and which, in quiet times, sink again from the top to their natural place at the bottom. ⁶ To these men nothing is so hateful as the prospect of a reconciliation between the orders of the State. ⁷ A crisis like that which now makes every honest citizen sad and anxious, fills these men with joy and with a detestable hope. ⁸ And how is it that such men, ⁹ formed by nature and education to be objects of mere contempt, can ever inspire terror? ¹⁰ How is it that such men, ¹¹ without talents or acquirements sufficient ¹² for the management of a vestry, sometimes become dangerous to great empires? ¹³ The secret of their power lies ¹⁴ in the indolence or faithlessness of those who ought to take the lead in the redress of public grievances.—MACAULAY.

¹ 'more zealous than more prudent.' ² 'may, to the great damage of the republic, be influential with citizens.' ³ '(danger) lest (84, 2) to these be joined others.' ⁴ *perditissima illa populi faex* (93). ⁵ *turbata civitate quasi* (99, 1) *ex imo ad summum efferri solet, iterum quieta* (61), *in suum locum considit*. ⁶ 'To these men nothing is so little pleasing as that the different orders' (58, 8; 61, 12), etc. ⁷ 'At this time when all the good citizens (58, 10) are sad and anxious, these men are full of joy and detestable (*funestus*) hopes (or plans).' ⁸ *Quamquam* (86) *quomodo fit ut* (60, 12), etc. ⁹ 'by nature and training made for this one (58, 8) thing, that they should be despised.' ¹⁰ Simply repeat the *ut* (84, 2). ¹¹ 'to whom are wanting.' ¹² *ad municipalia ministeria*. ¹³ *Hoc, credo, possunt* (61, 6) *quia*, etc., or simply *Nimirum quod*, etc. ¹⁴ 'those are either indolent or faithless' (58, 8).

XLVI

¹ I will not fatigue your patience, I will not oppress your humiliation with further instances of the debility and contempt of your government. The inference I draw from the whole is this, ² that the present weakness of Government is a disease of repletion. The vigour of the limbs is gone, because the stomach has been overfed. ³ I have been clear on the nature of the disease, and on the specific remedy, for a long time. I, however, kept back my thoughts, partly for

reasons of personal want of importance, partly from my own disposition. I am not naturally an economist. I am, besides, cautious of experiment, even to timidity, and I have been reproached for it. ⁴But times alter natures. Besides, I never, till lately, saw a temper in the least favourable to reformation. ⁵There is now a dawning of hope. ⁶I trusted that a ministry might be formed, who would carry some such plan into effect with all the powers of government; and much is lost in not possessing those powers for this purpose. But the present favourable moment is not to be neglected, even under this disadvantage, great as it is, and as I feel it to be.—BURKE.

¹ 'But (*Sed*, 86) let these be sufficient about the debility (*imbecillitas*) of the State, Senate, lest (61, 9) by bringing forward more instances, I may either tire (77, 1 a) your ears or break (*infringo*) your spirits more even.' ² 'that you have contracted this disease by loading the stomach (93; 99, 1), as it were, which being overfilled, the limbs have become weak.' ³ 'But though (72) this long while both the nature and remedy . . . have been manifest to me, I have been silent, both on account of my own obscurity (59, 1), and because, not only am I by disposition (*ingenium*) little fitted for explaining accounts, but so cautious in experimenting that I have even been accused of timidity.' ⁴ 'But different times, different characters (61, 3).' ⁵ *spes illuxit* (94). ⁶ 'I was hoping, indeed (*quidem*) (78), that there might be elected magistrates who, using their legal powers, etc. . . .; and it hinders us much that we lack such aid; but whatever disadvantage this is, and I feel it to be a very great one,' etc.

XLVII

If ¹ the civil and military officers ² do not look to home for preferment, ³ if their fortunes are to depend solely on the chief governor, what more have they to do than to court his favour, by entering into his views? If he should desire to disobey ⁴ the instructions, his army is ready to support him, ⁵ for the parent power has yielded up the means of drawing the expectations of the body to itself. ⁶ Unhappy land! ⁷ thus art thou devoted to the continuance of that pernicious

system which has devastated thy fields, which has drenched itself in thy blood, and fattened on thy spoils! Thus, miserable ⁸ people, are you to be abandoned to the merciless and insatiable lusts of a ⁹ successive band of sanguinary adventurers, before whose eyes no punishment is set up ¹⁰ equal to the temptations which the luxuries of your land present to them! ¹¹ Would it not be better to say to the governor which you shall send out, act as you please in ¹² Hindostan for this next year? Do as you like; all I shall require from you is to give me an account of your transactions when you return.—FOX.

¹ Perhaps *quaestores et legati*. ² 'seek honours from hence.' ³ 'if it shall depend (*positum erit*) upon the proconsul alone whether they prosper or no (13; 58, 8).' ⁴ *senatus mandata*. ⁵ 'since the power by which men may attract the goodwill (*benevolentia*) of the soldiers to themselves, those in whose power it is, have committed to him.' ⁶ *Itane, O miseram provinciam!* (84, 6.) ⁷ 'your lands having been devastated, the blood of your citizens spilt, your goods plundered, are you still being tortured (*lacero* or *vexo*) that the same fatal laws may be (58, 8) continued?' ⁸ *Socii*. ⁹ Say: 'are you yearly to be delivered over to the lusts (59, 1) . . . of a fresh band of bloodstained robbers?' ¹⁰ *tantus . . . quantus*. ¹¹ *Quin potius mandamus . . . ?* ¹² *Asia*.

XLVIII

¹ What I did, I did with the concurrence and with the approbation of all my colleagues; but I would have done it even had I differed from every man among them. Nay, I say that, acting conscientiously, so help me God, I could not have done otherwise than I did. ² Whilst I have the approbation of my own conscience, ³ I am ready to incur every risk, and ⁴ submit to all the responsibility to which I am exposed by the faithful discharge of my duty. But what, I will ask, is the nature of the crime imputed to me? ⁵ Why, that on the occasions in question I acted in obedience to His Majesty's commands. ⁶ What would the noble earl have thought of my conduct if I had refused compliance? What kind of crime

would the noble lord have held me guilty of if I had dared to disobey the positive commands of the Sovereign? ⁷ I acted then upon my conscience, and to the best of my judgment: my rule of conduct is the same on this occasion. ⁸ I will act on my oath in despite of the opposition of the whole world.—ELDON.

¹ 'What I did, while (78, 4) I did it my colleagues approving, so I would have done (it) with even (*vel*) all to a man disapproving: nay, in truth (*immo vero*, 87), by the gods I neither ought (*debebam*) rightly nor was able to do otherwise.' ² 'Provided I am conscious to myself of nothing ill done (*prave factus*),' or, 'provided I satisfy myself and my conscience,' or, 'provided I am sustained by a good (*praeclarus*) conscience.' ³ 'It has always been my aim (*propositum*), in faithfully discharging my duties,' etc. ⁴ *omnem invidiam praestare*. ⁵ *Nempe* (35) *quod paruerim* . . . ⁶ 'What if I had refused? what would my accuser have thought?' ⁷ 'I both (88, 1) acted then as I ought and as seemed best, and now I have so determined to act.' ⁸ 'I will keep faith,' or, 'my oath.'

XLIX

But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, ¹ it must be considered as singularly fortunate that he should have experienced a lot, ² which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and ³ have passed through such a variety of scenes without stain and without reproach. ⁴ It must indeed create astonishment, that, placed in circumstances so critical, and ⁵ filling for a series of years a station so conspicuous, ⁶ his character should never once have been called in question; ⁷ that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence or of mean submission in his transactions with foreign nations. ⁸ For him it has been reserved to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career. But, sir, if the maxims now held out were adopted, the man who now ranks as the ⁹ assertor of his country's freedom, and the

guardian of its interests and its honours, would be deemed to have betrayed that country, ¹⁰ and entailed upon himself indelible reproach.—FOX.

¹ 'He (58, 9) must be considered specially fortunate who,' etc.
² 'a thing which has happened (*contingo*) to very few men,' ³ 'has so (23) conducted himself in so many and so diverse scenes (*res*, 103, 1) as to be without,' etc. ⁴ 'For (85) it must be wondered at (6).' ⁵ 'spending many years in a lofty position (*in excelso*, 115).' ⁶ 'that bad habits were never charged against him (*obicio*).' ⁷ '(59, 1) no accusation either of too much arrogance to foreign nations or submission (*obsequium*) has ever been brought against him.' ⁸ 'It has fallen to his lot alone so (23) to have run the race of glory (*gloriae cursus*, 93), that the lustre of his fame was not for a moment dimmed (*obscurus*, 93).' ⁹ *vindex*. ¹⁰ (98) *inurere sibi ignominiam (ignominiae notam)*.

L

¹ If I have taken an unusual and possibly an irregular course, upon this extraordinary occasion, I am confident that the House will pardon me. ² They will forgive something, no doubt, to the warmth of private friendship—to sentiments of gratitude which I must feel, and, whenever I have an opportunity, must express to the latest hour of my life. ³ But the consideration of public utility, to which I have so much adverted as the ruling principle in the mind of my friend, will weigh far more with them. ⁴ They will in their wisdom acknowledge that to celebrate and perpetuate the memory of great and meritorious individuals, is in effect an essential service to the community. It was not, therefore, for the purpose of performing the pious office of friendship, ⁵ by fondly strewing flowers upon his tomb, that I have drawn your attention to the character of the Duke of Bedford: ⁶ the motive that actuates me is one more suitable to what were his views. It is ⁷ that this great character may be strongly impressed upon the minds of all who hear me—that they may see it—that they may feel it—that they may speak

of it to their children, and hold it up to the imitation of posterity.—FOX.

¹ 'You, if I have acted against custom, if perchance (84, 2) against law . . . , I know well will pardon me.' ² 'You will (77, 1 a) allow (do) assuredly something to my very great (*summus*) friendship with him : you will allow (it) to that gratitude which it is necessary that I should both feel and . . . express.' ³ 'But (*autem*, 86) the public advantage, the care of which I have often said above was always present to my friend's mind (or, to care for which [58, 8] he had laid down as a rule of his life) will have more power with (*apud*) you.' ⁴ 'You will admit, such is your (37) prudence, that to celebrate . . . , that, indeed, is of great advantage to the State.' ⁵ 'an empty honour (97), being, as it were, done (*addo*) to his grave.' ⁶ 'This (63) I am anxious for, which he would have himself approved of (*erat probaturus*), that, etc.' ⁷ 'that those who hear may drink deeply in their heart (95) the virtues of this great man, that they may, as it were, gaze on (them) with their eyes, that they may feel (*cognosco*) what sort they were,' etc.

LI

¹ Am I to infer, that ² from the experience of the conduct of the English, such was their detestation of their character, that they chose rather to wait for death from the vengeance of their countrymen, than to seek for safety from British protection ? ³ If such is the inference, ⁴ in what a point of view does it place the honour of the British nation, and the boasted generosity of their character ? ⁵ But if the fact be otherwise, if, after ⁶ having betrayed these men to assist in your views, you abandoned them to that ruin which was the consequence, their blood is on your heads, and at your hands will it be required. What people henceforth will be desirous of the friendship of Britain, or able to repose themselves with confidence in your fidelity ? ⁷ What dependence can they have upon the efficacy of your assistance, or what security even against your desertion ? ⁸ Toulon, ⁹ purchased by compromise, you have lost with disgrace ; ¹⁰ you ¹¹ have placed yourselves in a point of view entirely new to British

character; you have proved yourselves neither useful as friends, nor respectable as enemies.—FOX.

¹ *Quid ergo? Num constat . . . ?* ² 'that the allies, having experienced from our actions what kind of people (58, 8) we are, so hated us that they preferred, waiting for death, to pay the penalty to their own countrymen, than (55, 6) under the protection of ours to seek safety.'

³ *Quodsi.* ⁴ *quam praeclara est fides nostra!* ⁵ *Sin minus; si,* etc. ⁶ 'you have abandoned these men beguiled into a community of plans (*in consiliorum societatem* (59, 1) *pellectos*) to certain (*exploratus*) ruin.' ⁷ 'What reason (11) is there for hoping (*Quid est cur sperent*) that your assistance will be of advantage, to say nothing (*nedum*, 31) of their fearing even the abandonment of themselves?' ⁸ *Quippe* ('For,' 85). ⁹ 'purchased under base conditions.' ¹⁰ *denique.*

¹¹ (58), 'you have exhibited yourselves such as our men have never (exhibited themselves) before, neither to be loved (or, *in amicitiam adhibendos*) on account of utility, nor to be defeated in war (*debellandos*) with glory (or, worthy to be fought with)' (77 b).

LII

¹ Gentlemen, your patience must be exhausted. If I have spoken in any degree ² not unsuitably to the dignity of this great subject, I have spoken as I could have wished; ³ but if, as you may think, deficiently, I have spoken as I could. ⁴ Do you, from what has been said, and from the better arguments which may have been omitted, to be suggested by your manly understandings and your honest hearts, give a verdict ⁵ consistent with justice, yet leaning to liberty; ⁶ dictated by truth, yet inclining to the side of accused men; struggling against ⁷ the power and influence of the Crown, ⁸ against prejudice more overwhelming still; ⁹ a verdict to be applauded, not by a ¹⁰ party, ¹¹ but by the impartial monitor within your breasts; ¹² a verdict becoming the high spirit of Irish gentlemen, and worthy the intrepid guardians of the rights and liberties of a free people.—O'CONNELL.

¹ 'But, gentlemen, I fear that you are already tired.' ² *ea quae postulabat res* (103, 1) *tam gravis.* ³ *sin operi meo defuisse videbor.*

⁴ 'You, I pray, both from what has been said and from those better

arguments, which (67), although I have passed (them) over (*praetereo et relinquo*), his own manly understanding (*ingenium*) and generous heart (*cor*) will suggest (*subicio*) to each, so give your votes (*sententias ferre*).⁵ 'Let your verdict be just, but at the same time more inclined (*pronus*) to liberality.'⁶ *factum ad veritatem illud quidem* (78) *sed tamen inclinatus*, etc.⁷ *auctoritas et potentia consularis* (117, 1).⁸ *praeiudicatus*: trans. 'on the side of men struggling . . . and, what is more serious (*gravis*), prejudged.'⁹ 'Let your verdict be of such a kind,' etc.¹⁰ 'partisans' (*studiosi*).¹¹ 'the standard (*regula*) of right and wrong implanted in each one' (93).¹² *iudicium, inquam*, etc.

LIII

¹ Among the awful considerations that now bow down my mind, there is one which stands pre-eminent above the rest. You are the highest judicature in the realm; you sit here as judges and decide all causes, ² civil and criminal, ³ without appeal. It is a judge's first duty never to pronounce sentence, in the most trifling case, ⁴ without hearing. ⁵ Will you make this the exception? Are you really prepared ⁶ to determine, but not to hear, the mighty cause ⁷ upon which a nation's hopes and fears hang? ⁸ You are. Then beware of your decision. ⁹ Rouse not, I beseech you, a peace-loving, but a resolute people; ¹⁰ do not alienate from your body ¹¹ the affections of a whole empire. ¹² As your friend, as the friend of my order, as the friend of my country, as the faithful servant of my sovereign, I counsel you to assist with your uttermost efforts in preserving the peace and upholding and perpetuating ¹³ the constitution. ¹⁴ Therefore I pray, and I exhort you not ¹⁵ to reject the measure. ¹⁶ By all you hold most dear—by all the ties that bind every one of us to our common order and our common country, ¹⁷ I solemnly adjure you—I warn you—I implore you—yea, on my bended knees, I supplicate you—reject not this bill.—LORD BROUGHAM.

¹ 'Now (*Iam*) while other reasons (*causae*, or, *rationes*) . . . then this particularly . . .'² *publicae et privatae*. ³ either *sine appellatione*, or work in *libera iurisdictio*. ⁴ *indicta causa*. ⁵ *Quid? Vos*

aliter hic acturi estis? ⁶ *decernere . . . cognoscere.* ⁷ 'on which rest (*positae sunt*) the expectations (*spes*, or, *expectationes*) either way (*in utramque partem*) of a whole people.' ⁸ To be omitted or not, according to taste. ⁹ 'Do not, I ask, rouse a race, peace-loving indeed (*ille quidem*), but (78)' etc. ¹⁰ 'Be unwilling to alienate from your order.' ¹¹ *voluntas.* ¹² *Hoc ego, vestrum, ordinis nostri* (58, 4) . . . *amicus . . . et moneo et rogo, ut, etc.* ¹³ *civitas* (or 58, 6). ¹⁴ *Itaque a vobis posco atque adeo flagito.* ¹⁵ *antiquare rogationem.* ¹⁶ *Per ego vos* (64) *quodcumque carissimum habetis, (per) quaecunque iura et senatores ordini suo et civitati cives iungunt, etc.* ¹⁷ *moneo, oro, atque obsecro, denique hic supplex precor.*

LIV

¹ There are perhaps few arduous undertakings, that are not in fact more arduous ² than we at first supposed them. ³ As we proceed, difficulties increase upon us, but our hopes gather strength also, and we conquer difficulties, which, could we have foreseen them, we should never have had the boldness to encounter. ⁴ May this be your experience, as I doubt not that it will. ⁵ You possess by nature all that is necessary to success in the profession that you have chosen. What remains is in your own power. They say of poets that they must be born such: ⁶ so must statesmen, so must generals, and so must lawyers, and so indeed must men ⁷ of all denominations, ⁸ or it is not possible that they should excel. ⁹ But with ¹⁰ whatever faculties we are born, and to whatever studies our genius may direct us, studies they must still be.

¹ *Perraro fortasse fit* (60, 12) *ut . . .* ² (61, 17) *spe nostra (opini- one) maiora.* ³ *sed, ut . . . augentur difficultates* (78, 4), *sic, spe pariter confirmati* (58, 10) . . . ⁴ *Quod fore ut* (58, 8). . . , *et spero* (88, 1) *et credo.* ⁵ *Habes enim eam potissimum naturam.* ⁶ (84, 2) *nascuntur duces, nascuntur iurisconsulti.* ⁷ *omnes denique cuiuslibet artis.* ⁸ *alloqui, or* 51, 5. ⁹ *Ceterum.* ¹⁰ 45.

LV

Against these charges the accused made virtually no defence. ¹Calm, grave, and dignified, he told his judges that he would not stoop to work upon their feelings ² by the piteous appeals, the tears, and lamentations, to which they were accustomed, or to ³ buy their favour by promises to change his ⁴ way of living ; ⁵ the best refutation of his accusers was the long and unsullied life which he had led among them ; further defence the divine voice had forbidden him to make. If, indeed, they should acquit him, he could only live as he had always lived, ⁶ searching for truth and questioning all whom he met, for a necessity was laid upon him, and he must obey God rather than them. As to the sentence, whatever it might be, he did not fear it. ⁷About the unseen world he knew nothing ; but to disobey God he knew full well to be wicked and shameful, and he would not choose a certain evil to escape ⁸ a fancied evil, which might turn out a blessing.

¹ *Vultum serenum gerens, gravitatis et dignitatis (maiestatis) plenum* (120). ² *eos obsecrando, flendo, . . . solito more, etc.* ³ (95) *sententias emere.* ⁴ *vitae ratio, or, instituta sua.* ⁵ *id ipsum* (15) *quod vitam . . . vixisset, accusatorum crimina* (60, 5) *satis confutare* ⁶ 'for it had been laid upon him that he should search (*indago*) . . . and he must obey.' ⁷ *et* (87) *vita egressum quid maneret, se nescire, or, de loco quo morte migrandum, se nihil scire* (58). ⁸ 'that which (67) no one knew whether (12) it would not turn out a good rather than an evil.'

DISSERTATION

LVI

Many authors, and among others the ¹sober Plutarch, have thought that in acquiring their empire the Romans were more beholden to their good fortune than their valour ; ² and

besides other reasons which they give for this opinion, they affirm it to be proved by the ³ admission of the Romans themselves, since their having erected more temples to Fortune than to any other deity shows that it was to her they ascribed their success. This, however, is an opinion with which I can in no way concur, and which, I take it, cannot be made good. ⁴ If no commonwealth has ever been found to grow like the Roman, it is because none was ever found so well fitted by its institutions to make that growth. By the valour of her armies she ⁵ spread her empire, while by her conduct of affairs and by the methods, peculiar to herself and devised by the founders of her constitution, she was able to keep ⁶ what she had acquired.

¹ *Plutarchus (121) auctor gravis.* ² *et cum alias rationes . . . , tum hanc potissimum afferunt (58, 10 ; 60, 4).* ³ 'that the Romans themselves admit it, who, in dedicating (43, 3) more temples . . . , show that (61, 16 ; 63).' ⁴ 'But (*At* ; 86) you will say no commonwealth . . . Was any other so well fitted . . . ?' ⁵ *imperii fines promovere (60, 5).* ⁶ 66, 5.

LVII

¹ But one or two cautions must be given. ² The question is eminently a practical one, and it cannot be dealt with according to mere abstract theories. ³ It is one of those cases in which it is a great argument in favour of an institution, that it exists. It is not enough to show that some other system may be theoretically better, or to point to some country where another system is thought to be ⁴ in some points more successful. To tear up by the roots any part of those institutions of an old country ⁵ which have grown up with it from the beginning, which have become part of its very being, is in itself an evil. Before such a course is taken, ⁶ it must be shown, not only that the proposed change would be an improvement in itself, but that it would be so great an improvement as to counterbalance the evil

involved in the very process of change. ⁷ We often act wisely ⁸ in preserving institutions which we should never think of setting up for the first time in their present state. In all cases of change, especially in so great a change as this, there is a great deal more to be thought of than merely ⁹ whether the proposed change would ideally be an improvement.—E. A. FREEMAN.

¹ *Sed pauca* (61, 4) *prius praemonenda* (*praecipienda*). ² 'For (85) herein (*hic*) we must look at facts, and we must not deal (*neque agendum est*) with words only (122 a, 1 a) and reasoning.' ³ 'For settling questions of this kind, that the matters are so (*quod* (15) *ita se res habent*) is of great importance, and it is not enough that (19) we prove that these would be better otherwise or adduce a country where different institutions,' etc. ⁴ *nonnulla ex parte*. ⁵ 'which have so grown up with (it : 123 a, 2 b) growing, that they are deeply implanted (95) in it.' ⁶ 'It is necessary for (those) urging that the state should be so changed, in the first place (19) to prove that this is in itself advantageous, next that it is as advantageous (*tantum prodesse, quantum*) as this change itself is disadvantageous (*obesse*).'⁷ *Itaque* (85) *ii plerumque prudenter faciunt qui*, etc. ⁸ 'preserve such things as (66, 5) they were not originally (*initio*) likely to set up (future participle) in the same manner.'⁹ *utrum annon ipsae per se res melius habiturae sint*.

LVIII

¹ Nor need we be surprised at the early existence in the world of some vast empires, or at the rapidity with which they advanced to their greatness, from comparatively small and obscure originals. ² Whilst the inhabitants of so many countries were broken into numerous ³ communities, unconnected, and oftentimes contending with each other; ⁴ before experience had taught these little states to see their own danger in their neighbour's ruin, or had instructed them in the necessity of resisting the aggrandisement of an aspiring power by alliances and timely preparations; ⁵ in this condition of civil policy, a particular tribe, ⁶ which by any means had gotten the start of the rest in strength or discipline, and

happened to fall under the conduct of an ambitious chief,⁷ by directing their first attempts to the part where success was most secure, and by assuming, as they went along, those whom they conquered into a share of their future enterprises, might soon gather a force⁸ which would infallibly overbear any opposition that the scattered power and unprovided state of such enemies could make to the progress of their victories. —PALEY, *Origin of Civil Government*.

¹ 'Nor ought we to wonder that (6, 15) quite early (*a primis statim annis*) great empires came into being (*existo*), nor that from small comparatively (*ut* [55, 1] *in tanta re*) and obscure beginnings they quickly,' etc. ² *Id enim temporis* ('At that time') *quo*, etc. ³ *civitates vel inimicas* (126 b, 2) *inter se vel saltem seiunctas*. ⁴ 'and they had not yet, using the ruin of their neighbours (*proximus*) as an example, understood that the same danger was impending over them, or that there was need of alliances . . . that they might resist,' etc. ⁵ 'while, I say, the rest of the tribes were being administered in this way.' ⁶ *quae viribus . . . excellens, ducem quoque regni cupidum nacta erat*. ⁷ 'attacking (*aggressa*) any (58) who were able to be safely assaulted, and the conquered being adopted (*assumo*) thereafter into a participation (59, 1: *societas*) of their plans.' ⁸ 'which were sure to overcome (future participle) enemies (58) scattered (*loco diversos*), and too little prepared to resist the conquerors.'

LIX

¹ The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that ² questions of private right and wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himself, when the Court had no interest, was an upright judge. ³ A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge ⁴ under the influence of government, ⁵ may be honest enough in the

decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. ⁶ When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentments of a court are to be gratified.

Letters of Junius.

¹ 'In (63) order that the people may obey the laws and be bound (93) to their rulers (*principes*), this most effectually compels them (*maxima* [*arctissima*] *necessitate astringit*) that (15) justice (*iura*) is administered,' etc. ² 'that the suits of private people be decided, the difference of right and wrong being justly made, or that judges should not be able to be corrupted by a base money bargain (*condicio*) of whom (66, 2) even Verres, provided that it made no difference to his own (friends) how a case was decided, was one of the most upright.' ³ 'For (85) there is another means (*ratio*) of biasing (*inclino*) judges, the more dangerous, as it affects the interests of more, and not (*neque* [86] *iam*) of individuals, but of all (*universi*).'⁴ *quem principum* (58) *gratia movet.* ⁵ 'may satisfy private interests, damage (90, 2) public ones.' ⁶ 'And so this man, he who is to be punished having been marked out (*destino*), will offer himself as agent (*minister*) of the wickedness; he, wherever (45) there is need of acting against the laws, or the hatreds of the governors (*principes*) are to be satisfied (*expleo*), will most readily sell (*venalem habeo*) his dignity, will degrade (*dehonesto*) the sanctity of his office.' [Remember that the difference between *publica* and *privata iudicia* is nearly that between *criminal* and *civil* cases.]

LX

¹ As the frequent perpetration of great crimes is an inevitable consequence of the diffusion of sceptical principles, so, to understand this consequence in its full extent, we must look beyond their immediate effects, and consider the disruption of social ties, the destruction of confidence, the terror, suspicion, and hatred, which must prevail in that state of society in which barbarous deeds are familiar. ² The tranquillity which pervades a well-ordered community, and the mutual good offices which bind its members together,

are founded on an implied confidence in the indisposition to annoy; in the justice, humanity, and moderation of those among whom ³ we dwell. ⁴ So that the worst consequence of crimes is, that they impair the stock of public charity and general tenderness. ⁵ The dread and hatred of our species would infallibly be grafted on a conviction that we were exposed every moment to the surges of an unbridled ferocity, and that nothing but the power of the magistrate ⁶ stood between us and the daggers of assassins.

ROBERT HALL, *Modern Infidelity Considered*.

¹ *Ut, vulgata scepticorum, quos vocant (or, Pyrrhoneorum) doctrina, . . . , ita si quis haec penitus intellegere vult, non modo qualia sint sed quid etiam post se trahant . . .* ² (15) *Quod civitates . . . summa pace utuntur (tranquillitatem agitant) et cives alius alium officiis astringunt (obligant), totum in hoc positum est quod inter hos quasi constat neminem cuiquam nocere velle.* ³ 'they.' ⁴ *Itaque maxime obsunt scelera, detrahendo aliquid (94) de communi illa benevolentia et humanitate.* ⁵ *Quibus enim persuasum esset (58) . . . horum (66, 5) animis (60, 5) necesse est insitae sint (inserantur).* ⁶ *sicariorum gladios ab ipsis arcere.*

LXI

Were pleasures all of one ¹ kind, differing only in degree, ² were pains all of one kind, differing only in degree, and could pleasures be measured against pains ³ with definite results, ⁴ the problems of conduct would be greatly simplified. ⁵ Were the pleasures and pains serving as incentives and deterrents simultaneously present to consciousness with like vividness, or were they all immediately impending, or were they all equidistant in time, the problems would be further simplified. And they would be still further simplified ⁶ if the pleasures and pains were exclusively those of the actor. ⁷ But both the desirable and the undesirable feelings ⁸ are of various kinds, making quantitative comparisons difficult; ⁹ some are present and some are future, increasing the diffi-

culty of quantitative comparison ; some are entailed on self and some are entailed on others, again increasing the difficulty. ¹⁰ So that ¹¹ the guidance yielded by the primary principle reached is of little service unless supplemented by the guidance of secondary principles.—HERBERT SPENCER.

¹ *genus . . . magnitudo.* ² Do not repeat this in full : and throughout the prose avoid the reiteration of the English. ³ *accuratus.* ⁴ 'it would be easier (48) to institute a rule (*ratio*) of life : and (85, 3) more easy still,' etc. ⁵ 'if pleasures and pains had at one and the same time the same influence (*vis*) for both inciting and deterring.' ⁶ 'if they belonged to the man himself who was acting (*rem agere*).' ⁷ *et haec et illa.* ⁸ 'while (78, 4) they are various, so they can scarcely be compared (126 b, 2) with one another how (58, 8) great they are.' ⁹ 'And the less so (*eo minus*) as in the first place (86) some are present, some expected, in the second place (*deinde*) partly we ourselves, partly others are affected.' ¹⁰ *ex quo efficitur (sequitur),* etc. ¹¹ 'the first principles which we have discovered (*exploro*) will be of too little use (58) for ruling our life, unless we shall have called in (*adhibeo*) others too, as handmaids (*quasi ancillulas*),' or, 'of lower authority.'

LXII

^{1, 2} Capacity for the nobler feelings is in most natures a very tender plant, easily killed, not only by hostile influences, but by mere want of sustenance ; and in the majority of young persons it speedily dies away if the occupations to which their position in life has devoted them, and the society into which it has thrown them, are not favourable to keeping that higher capacity in exercise. ³ Men lose their high aspirations as they lose their intellectual tastes, because they have not time or opportunity for indulging them ; and they addict themselves to inferior pleasures, not because they deliberately prefer them, but because they are either the only ones to which they have access or the only ones which they are any longer capable of enjoying. ⁴ It may be questioned whether any one who has remained equally

⁵ susceptible to both classes of pleasures, ever knowingly and calmly preferred the lower ; though many, in all ages, have broken down ⁶ in an ineffectual attempt to combine both.—MILL.

¹ (71) ‘ As a flower (*flosculus*, 99, 2) is soon killed not only by the employment of force but even if it is not fed (*alo*), so in many people, and especially among the younger, the capacity . . . dies away unless both the business in which they are occupied and those whom they have (*utor*) as friends are of such a kind (*eiusmodi*) that it can be exercised amongst them.’ ² *pars honestissima* (58) *animi nostri*, or, *animi magnitudo*. ³ ‘ For those (men) lay aside not only their zeal for letters, but their love for what is honourable, who want the leisure or opportunity for indulging (them, 123 a, 2 b).’ ⁴ *Itaque haud scio an nemo* (12), etc. ⁵ *obnoxius*. ⁶ *dum frustra conantur* (58, 8).

LXIII

¹ But those whose minds are purified, and their thoughts habituated to divine things, ² with what constant and ardent wishes do they breathe after that blessed immortality ! How often do their souls complain ³ within them ⁴ that they have dwelt so long in their earthly tabernacle ! ⁵ Like exiles, they earnestly wish, ⁶ make interest, and struggle hard to regain their native country. ⁷ Moreover, does not that noble neglect of the body and its senses, and that contempt of all the pleasures of the flesh, which these heavenly souls have attained, evidently show that, in a short time, ⁸ they will be taken from hence, and ⁹ that the body and soul are of a very different and almost contrary nature to one another ; ¹⁰ and that the soul, set at liberty from the body, is not only ¹¹ exempted from death, ¹² but, in some sense, then begins to live, and then first sees light ? ¹³ Had we not this hope to support us, what ground should we have to lament our first nativity, which placed us in a life which we pass entirely in grasping phantoms of felicity, and suffering real calamities ! ¹⁴ So that if there were not ¹⁵ beyond this a life and happiness

¹⁶ that more truly deserves these names, ¹⁷ who can help seeing that, of all creatures, man would be the most miserable ? —ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON, *On the Immortality of the Soul*.

¹ *Quorum autem mentes . . . , et cogitationes cum rebus caelestibus commercium habent.* ² 'with how great and how vehement a longing do these seek after that happy everlasting life.' ³ *animi secum*, or, *in animis secum*. ⁴ 'that (6, 15) they are so long delaying in this earthly home (*sede et domicilio*).'⁵ *Quantopere, exsulum more, . . .* ⁶ *student, summa spe enituntur ut reducantur.* ⁷ 'Besides, that noble neglect (*incuria*) . . . and contempt (63) . . . , do they not teach that . . . ?' ⁸ *hinc esse migraturos.* ⁹ 'in their very nature, body and soul are very different from (126 b, 2) one another, and almost opposite (*contraria*).'¹⁰ *animum denique, simul ex corpore evolaverit* (60, 13) ¹¹ *expers.* ¹² *vivere, ut ita dicam, et luce frui tum demum incipere.* ¹³ 'which (85, 2) hope indeed if we were without, it would rightly repent (us) of even at first having been born into that life which is all lived (*tota degatur*) in grasping at (*prenso*) fictitious pleasures, enduring (90, 2) real (*verus*) miseries.'¹⁴ *adeo ut.* ¹⁵ 'if a life . . . did not await us when dead.'¹⁶ *recto nomine appellanda.* ¹⁷ 'there would be no one but (*quin* ; 26) would see.'

LXIV

¹ The question to be definitely raised and answered before entering on any ethical discussion, is the question of late much agitated—Is life worth living ? ² Shall we take the pessimist view ? Or shall we take the optimist view ? Or shall we, after weighing pessimistic and optimistic arguments, conclude that the balance is in favour of a qualified optimism ? ³ On the answer to this question ⁴ depends entirely every decision concerning the goodness or badness of conduct. ⁵ By those who think life is not a benefit, but a misfortune, conduct which prolongs it is to be blamed rather than praised : ⁶ the ending of an undesirable existence being the thing to be wished, that which causes the ending of it must be applauded ; while actions furthering its continuance, either in self or others, must be reprobated. ⁷ Those who, on the other

hand, take an optimistic view, or who, if not pure optimists, yet hold that in life the good exceeds the evil, are committed to opposite estimates ; and must regard as conduct to be approved that which fosters life in self and others, and as conduct to be disapproved that which injures or endangers life in self or others.—HERBERT SPENCER.

¹ 'But before we discuss virtue, we must answer that hackneyed question (*tritum illud*, 114 ; 61, 10), whether it is worth while to live, it having been settled (111 *e*, *constituto*), what kind of a question it is we are inquiring about (*de quo quaerimus*).'² 'And herein we may side either with those (88) who think life is possible (*vivendum esse*) under no condition, or those who (think that . . .) under any (condition,) or, the arguments of both having been weighed in the scale (*trutina pensare*, 93), with those who (think that . . .) under a certain fixed condition.'³ *Iam vero* (85, 86).⁴ 'To this answer, whatever it is, we shall refer every decision concerning what is rightly or wrongly done (*de recte praveque facto* (114).'⁵ *Itaque* (85).⁶ *scilicet cum hoc optandum sit* (90, 2).⁷ *Contra, vitam in melius* (115) *interpretantibus vel saltem medium quoddam tenentibus, . . . contraria omnia videntur*.

LXV

¹ From what has been said, it is easy to give an account how it comes to pass, that though all men ² desire happiness, ³ yet their wills carry them so contrarily, and consequently some of them to what is evil. ⁴ And to this I say, ⁵ that the various and contrary choices that men make in the world do not argue that they do not all pursue good ; but that the same thing is not good to every man alike. This variety of pursuits shows that every one does not place his happiness in the same thing, or choose the same way to it. ⁶ Were all the concerns of man terminated in this life, why one followed study and knowledge, and another hawking and hunting ; why one chose luxury and debauchery, and another sobriety and riches ; would not be because every one of these did not aim at his own happiness, but because their happiness

was placed in different things. ⁷ And therefore it was a right answer of the physician ⁸ to his patient that had sore eyes : ⁹ If you have more pleasure in the taste of wine than in the use of your sight, wine is good for you ; ¹⁰ but if the pleasure of seeing be greater to you than ¹¹ that of drinking, wine is ¹² naught.—LOCKE.

¹ *Quodsi hoc verum est, facile apparebit quomodo, etc.* ² 'wish (58, 7) to live happily.' ³ '(74) being led away (*in errorem inducti*) by their desires they often (*plerique*) fall into (*incido*) what is evil.' ⁴ 'It follows further that.' ⁵ *ut non (50) si alii alia ac diversa consecretur, non omnes idcirco bonum adipisci velint.* ⁶ *Neque (50, 4) enim si . . . , haec (63, 2) causa esset, cur hic litteris et scientiae, hic . . . , ille . . . , ille autem . . . studeret, quod non pro se quisque beate vivere optaret, sed (quod, 35) . . .* ⁷ *Itaque recte illud responsum est a medico, etc.* ⁸ 'to a certain blear-eyed man (*lippus*) consulting him.' ⁹ *Oratio Obliqua.* ¹⁰ *sin.* ¹¹ 123 b. ¹² *nihili, or, pro nihilo, with appropriate verb.*

LXVI

¹ In a word, from the time that Athens was ² the University of the World, what has Philosophy taught men, but to promise without practising, and ³ to aspire without attaining ? ⁴ What has the deep and lofty thought of its disciples ended in but ⁵ eloquent words ? ⁶ Nay, what has its teaching ever meditated, when it was boldest in its remedies for human ill, ⁷ beyond charming us to sleep by its lessons, that we might feel nothing at all ? ⁸ like some melodious air, or rather like those strong perfumes, which at first spread their sweetness over everything they touch, but in a little while do but offend in proportion as they once pleased us. Did Philosophy support Cicero under the disfavour of the fickle populace, or nerve Seneca to oppose an imperial tyrant ? ⁹ It abandoned Brutus, ¹⁰ as he sorrowfully confessed, in his greatest need,

and it forced Cato,¹¹ as his panegyrist strangely boasts, into the false position of defying heaven.—NEWMAN.

¹ *Quid plura? Ex quo Athenae . . . , numquid aliud Philosophia homines docuit . . . ?* ² *orbis terrarum communis magistra, or, παίδευσις, quam Graeci vocant.* ³ *alte spectare neque (115) ad summum (eo) pervenire, or, ad summum contendere neque pervenire.* ⁴ *Eius discipulorum . . . cogitationes (63) quo (quorsum) evaserunt . . . ?* ⁵ *magniloquentia.* ⁶ *Quid, inquam, tum cum (43) . . . liberrime mederi pollicebatur, praeceptis suis moliebatur, etc.* ⁷ 'except that we (93), charmed (*delenire*) by these very (lessons), like (91) sleepers, should feel nothing at all.' ⁸ Either, *Sic cantus dulces, sic potentissimi odores primum, etc., or better (91) Ut in cantibus . . . fieri videmus, vel, ut hoc potius exemplo (similitudine) utamur, in odoribus . . . qui primum suavitatem suam imbuunt . . . , mox quo plus . . . eo magis, etc.* ⁹ 'By it (*Ab hac*, 63) Brutus was deserted . . . : 'Cato, oh, wonderful . . . ! compelled to challenge the gods above (*superi*).'¹⁰ *ut et ipse conquestus est.* ¹¹ 'Oh, wonderful (*praeclarus*) praise (*commendatio*) of the panegyrist (*laudator*)! O absurdity (*rem ridiculam*)!' (84, 6.)

LXVII

¹ We are continually informed ² that Utility is an uncertain standard, which every different person interprets differently, and that there is no safety but in the immutable, ineffaceable, and unmistakable dictates of Justice, which carry their evidence in themselves, and ³ are independent of the fluctuations of opinion. ⁴ One would suppose from this that on questions of justice there could be no controversy; that if we take that for our rule, its application to any given case could leave us in as little doubt as a mathematical demonstration. ⁵ So far is this from being the fact, that ⁶ there is as much difference of opinion, and as fierce discussion, about what is just, as about what is useful to ⁷ society. ⁸ Not only have different nations and individuals different notions of justice, ⁹ but in the mind of one and the same individual, justice is not some one rule or principle, but many, which do not always coincide in their dictates, and in choosing between which, he is ¹⁰ guided

either by some extraneous standard, or by his own personal predilections.—MILL.

¹ *Iam* (86) *affirmari solet*, or, *dictitant homines*. ² 'that the standard (*regula*, 93) of utility is very uncertain, since by it one man judges one thing, another another; that there is nothing certain (114), except in the . . . precepts of justice.' ³ 'and while opinions fluctuate (*se* [93; 94] *iactare*) remain immutable.' ⁴ 'Whom (85, 2; 67) those who believe, ought to think that all are agreed (*inter omnes constare*) about justice, and that if (*ad quod* [67] *si omnia*, etc.,) we refer (58, 8) everything to this, what in each thing is right, is determined (*concludo*) as if by the necessary reasoning (*ratio*) of mathematicians (58, 8).' ⁵ *Quod* (85, 2) *non modo non ita est*. ⁶ 'it is as much discussed (*disceptari* (59, 3) *solet*) and with as much heat (*contentio*).' ⁷ *homines*. ⁸ *Namque et* (88) *aliae gentes . . . alia de iusto* (114) *sentiant*. ⁹ 'and to one and the same man justice does not always dictate or order (*praecipio*, *impero*) the same thing.' ¹⁰ 'either something from without (*extraneum*, or, *extrinsecus*) is called in (*adhibeo*) or each one is led particularly (*maxime*) by his own desire (*studium*).'

LXVIII

¹ Can any wise or good man be angry if I say, I choose this man to be my friend, because he is able to give me counsel, ² to restrain my wanderings, to comfort me in my sorrows; he is pleasant to me in private, and useful in public; he will make my joys double, and divide my grief between himself and me? For what else should I choose? ³ I confess it is possible to be a friend to one that is ignorant and pitiable, handsome and good for nothing, that eats well, and drinks deep, but he cannot be a friend to me; and I love him with a fondness or pity, but it cannot be a noble friendship. ⁴ True and brave friendships are between worthy persons; and there is in mankind no degree of worthiness, but is also a degree of usefulness, and by everything by which a man is excellent I may be profited: ⁵ and because those are the bravest friends which can best ⁶ serve the ends of friendships, ⁷ either we must suppose that friendships are not the greatest comforts in the world, or else we must say, ⁸ he chooses his friend best that

chooses such a one by whom he can receive the greatest comforts and assistances.—JEREMY TAYLOR.

¹ 'If I say (part.) I have determined to make friends with (*in amicitiam adhibere*) this man, because . . . , if I say this, who would be angry with me, provided he be . . . ; for why should I choose a friend in another way?' ² *ab omni errore revocare.* ³ *Potest quidem fieri* (60, 12) *ut . . . ita sim amicus, ut tamen* (23) . . . ; *ut sit amori et misericordiae locus, requiratur* (90, 2) *omnis magnae et excelsae amicitiae condicio.* ⁴ *Inter dignos enim* (63) *cum sinceræ illæ et fortissimæ amicitiae existant, tum dignus nemo est quin* (26) *sit eadem ratione . . .* ⁵ *Ex quo efficitur ut* (*Itaque*) . . . ⁶ *amicorum officiis plenissime fungantur.* ⁷ *fatendum sit vel . . . vel . . .* ⁸ 'he chooses best, who chooses such a (is) friend.'

CORRESPONDENCE

LXIX

Take care ¹ that people talk about you and make much of your popularity. Let everybody know ² that the Government is heartily on your side, and thinks its own interest ³ bound up with your ⁴ success. ⁵ Give all the *éclat* possible to your canvass. ⁶ Remember that you are in London, ⁷ a place of conflicting interests, full of intrigue and rascality. You will have to put up with much arrogance, rancour, and annoyance. ⁸ As you have to contend with bribery, let your opponents feel the risk they run of a prosecution. ⁹ Make them see that you are watching them closely. With the prospect of an investigation before them perhaps they will not attempt bribery at all. ¹⁰ If they do, you may be so supported by the enthusiasm of the electors that bribery will be useless.

¹ *ut sit omnium sermo de te.* ² *senatum tibi vehementer favere ut qui putet.* ³ (61, 10) *use contineri.* ⁴ *either tua victoria, or* (58, 8) *hoc uno, quod consul renunciatus fueris.* ⁵ (58) *Ita petas ut omnium oculi . . .* ⁶ *Illud etiam debes cogitare.* ⁷ (58, 8) *ubi diversissima sint hominum commoda (studia).* ⁸ (86) *Iam de largitionibus . . . , sentiant competitorum tui periculum esse ne . . .* ⁹ *Cum erit hoc perspicuum, . . .* ¹⁰ *sin minus studentibus* (58, 2), *tibi suffragatoribus . . .*

LXX

¹The book which you were so good as to procure for me (and which I shall not pay for till you come to receive the money in person), contains all that part of Dr. Pococke's travels for which I have any curiosity; so I shall, with my thanks for this, give you no further trouble about any other volume. ²I find by the letter put into my hands by your son (who was so kind as to call here yesterday, but not kind enough to stay a night with us), ³that you are ⁴taken up with great matters, ⁵and like other great men, in danger of overlooking your friends. ⁶Prepare, however, for a world of abuse, both as a courtier and an architect, if you do not find means to wedge in a visit to Cloyne between those two grand concerns. ⁷Courtiers you will find none here, and but such *virtuosi* as the country affords; I mean in the way of music, ⁸for that is at present the reigning passion at Cloyne. To be plain, we are musically mad. ⁹If you would know what that is, come and see.—BERKELEY.

¹ 'You must know that the book which you so kindly procured for me—and you must wait for the money till you ask for it in person—contains,' etc. ² 'Your letters too your son yesterday gave to me, whom in (61, 19: the matter of) this kindness I very much applaud (*probo*), but not at all (*minimè autem*) for not stopping even one night with us (73).' ³ 'As to your writing (*Quod* [16] *scribis*).' ⁴ *impeditus*. ⁵ 'I fear that after the manner of the great you are going to neglect,' etc. ⁶ 'Do you, if you wish to be regarded as polite (*urbanus*), if (84, 2; 88, 3) as a skilful artist, expect that we shall load you with abuse, if somehow between . . . you have not interposed a time (*spatium*) for visiting us.' ⁷ 'Here there is nothing polite (114): artists such as the country produces, skilled, you must understand, in music.' ⁸ *Hoc . . . studemus* (84, 2); *hoc, ut aperte loquar, furimus*. ⁹ 'But if you wish (*aveo*) to know what kind of a thing this is, try in person.'

LXXI

¹ I have received yours of the 23rd, which has given me, as you may easily believe, a great deal of trouble. ² I beg you will be so kind and just to me, as to believe the truth of my heart, ³ that my greatest concern is for that of your own dear health. ⁴ I do conjure you, by all the kindness I have for you, which is as much as ever man had for woman, that you will take the best advice you can for your health, and then follow exactly what shall be prescribed for you, ⁵ and I do hope you will be so good as to let me have an exact account of it, and what the physicians' opinions are. ⁶ If I were with you I would endeavour to persuade you to think as little as is possible of ⁷ worldly business, and ⁸ to be very regular in your diet, ⁹ which I should hope would set you right in a very little time, for you have naturally a very good constitution. ¹⁰ You and I have great reason to bless God for all we have, so that we must not repine at his taking our poor child from us, but bless and praise him for what his goodness leaves us.—THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO HIS WIFE.

¹ *Redditae sunt mihi litterae tuae.* ² *Tu, amabo, ut par est, crede mihi hoc pro verissimo (115) asseveranti.* ³ 'that it very much concerns me that you, *mea vita* (57, 7), should be (61, 12) well.' ⁴ 'By my affection towards you. . . I intreat (17) that you go to (*adeo*) the best physicians, and follow exactly their prescriptions.' ⁵ (75) *Haec quae sint, cura, quaeso, ut, etc. . . ., et quid (57, 8) illi putent.* ⁶ *Ego, si tecum essem (sim 48), etc.* ⁷ *negotia (122 b).* ⁸ *ut lege quadam edendi (or, ciborum) vivas (utaris).* ⁹ 'which if you do (67), I hope that in a short time you will recover, for by nature you are of good (*prosperus*) health.' ¹⁰ (16) 'As to having lost our child, there are many kindnesses (*beneficia*) of the gods to both of us, so that we ought the less (*quo minus*) to grieve about (*super*) him, but rather (35) because (*idcirco quia*) it is allowed to keep so much, to give and feel grateful thanks (*maximas gratias et agere et habere*).'



LXXII

SIR EDWARD STAFFORD TO QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1587.

¹ The king said he had opened his mind to me as far as he had never done to ² any stranger, and to but few in France. He trusted in my word to be secret, and ³ if faith was not kept with him he would never deal confidently with ⁴ your Majesty nor any of yours again; ⁵ no living creature did know of my coming save he that brought me, ⁶ nor he nothing of the matter. If it was ever heard, he would disavow having seen me, and never love your Majesty more, but hate you as much as he loves you; but if you will help him to pacify France, and ⁷ pull it out of the mouths of them that make it a prey to strangers, he, ⁸ being out of danger in France, may help his neighbours, ⁹ which he protests he will do. I would have your Majesty doubt about the King's disposition; ¹⁰ perhaps he desireth to change his religion, and ¹¹ would make your Majesty his excuse to the world.

¹ 'The king warned me not, having given my word, to disclose,' etc. (72) ² *nemini* (112 d) *adhuc externo, suorum perpaucis*. ³ *sin minus*; then (57, 2) accusative and infinitive, 'that he would never,' etc. ⁴ perhaps *senatus*. ⁵ *nemo mortalium* (113). ⁶ (58, 8) *quare tamen venissem, vel hunc nescire*. ⁷ *is eripere* (97) *qui externis proicerent* (123 a, 2 b). ⁸ 'no one preventing at home.' ⁹ Begin new period here (73; 70): *Quod cum se facturum spondeat* (7). ¹⁰ 'lest perchance.' ¹¹ *senatus* (?) *auctoritatem praetendat*.

LXXIII

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE TO SIR JOHN LAWRENCE.

¹ My hope that you will be able to remain at your post is so strong; I should rather say my wish is so great, that I am afraid I may urge what perhaps I ought not. For I am sure you would not think of ² coming away without strong reason, and ³ I should feel very guilty if I were to press you to expose yourself to any serious risk. At the same time, I

am anxious to represent to you ⁴that public attention is likely to be much directed to Indian questions next year, and ⁵that some organic changes may probably be discussed, if not decided upon. ⁶At all events it is likely ⁷to be an important year for India, and ⁸it would be very unfortunate if we were to lose you while those questions are being settled. ⁹I can only say, that if there is anything I can do to make ¹⁰your remaining in India pleasanter to yourself, ¹¹I trust you will mention it. I am afraid I may have occasioned you annoyance in one or two matters, and it is very difficult to remember, ¹²when one is addressing an English audience, that there is an audience in India to be considered. But I hope you ¹³will not scruple to tell me freely if I ever offend in this way.

¹ *Tanta me spes tuæ mansionis (59, 1; 61, 17) tenebat; immo vero (87) tanta (84, 2) cupiditas (29; 90, 3), verebar, etc.* ² *decedere.* ³ *me valde paeniteat.* ⁴ *(95) oculos omnium conversum iri, or, proximum annum de Asia plurimum sermonis habiturum esse.* ⁵ *nova quaedam de provinciae statu vel statutum iri vel saltem, etc.* ⁶ *Utcunque hoc erit (45).* ⁷ *Asia in discrimen est ventura.* ⁸ *non sine magno nostro damno nobis defuturus es.* ⁹ *Ceterum (85).* ¹⁰ *tua mansio.* ¹¹ *tu, quaeso, ne tacueris.* ¹² *quæ apud Romanos contionatus sis, hæc usque ad Asiam referri.* ¹³ *libenter.*

LXXIV

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE TO SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE.

I have to thank you very heartily ¹for your kind expressions towards me. You ²will have learned, by this time, that I have quite made up my mind to stay in India ³for another year, by which time my full period of service as ⁴Governor-General will have expired, unless some untoward event may occur or I fall very ill. I cannot, however, help saying that I shall be very glad when that time expires; for ⁵I do not feel very happy or contented. ⁶I have nothing to complain of from you. You have always treated me with courtesy and consideration. ⁷But what I do feel is, that the ⁸Governor-General of India, nowadays, has not that authority and in-

fluence which the difficulties and responsibilities of his position demand. ⁹ He is expected to do great things; ¹⁰ to control, to command, and to overcome; and it seems to me to be impossible in the nature of things that he can do this, whatever may be his resolution. ¹¹ In practice, the tendency ¹² of his subordinate rulers in high places is to resist his authority, while he has no real security of support from home.

¹ (15 or 35) *quod tam humane scripseris.* ² *Iam ante.* ³ *unum insuper annum (122 a, 2).* ⁴ *ut, emerito praeturae tempore, ita demum de provincia discedam.* ⁵ *tantum abest (21) ut mea mihi placeant ut ne contentus quidem sim.* ⁶ *Non quo (35) habeam tibi quod obiciam.* ⁷ (61, 16; 63) *sed hoc video.* ⁸ *praetor, qui nunc est.* ⁹ *Postulant homines.* ¹⁰ *ut suis moderetur et imperet.* ¹¹ *cum . . . tum (78).* ¹² *solent ipsi legati.*

CHARACTERISATION

LXXV

¹ Though low in rank, being but a lieutenant, he was rich in honour, ² for he bore many scars and was young of days. He was only nineteen, and had seen more combats and sieges than he could count years. ³ Slight in person, and of such surpassing and delicate beauty that the Spaniards often thought him a girl disguised in man's clothing, ⁴ he was yet so vigorous, so active, so brave, that the most daring and experienced veterans watched his looks on the field of battle, and ⁵ would obey his slightest sign in the most difficult situations. ⁶ His education was incomplete, yet were his natural powers so happy, the keenest and best furnished ⁷ intellects shrank from an encounter of wit, and ⁸ all his thoughts and aspirations were proud and noble, indicating future greatness ⁹ if destiny had so willed it. ¹⁰ Assailed the night before the battle with that strange anticipation of

coming death so often felt by military men, he was pierced with three balls at the first storming of the Rhune rocks, and the sternest soldiers in the regiment wept even in the middle of the fight when they heard of his fate.—NAPIER.

¹ *Hic, etsi humili loco erat necdum ordinem ducebat . . .* ² (36) *ut qui adhuc adolescens plurimas cicatrices . . . , et annos non nisi . . . natus, idem pluribus pugnis . . . interfuisset.* ³ (61, 5) *Corpore fuit gracili: pulcritudine adeo eximia in qua (66, 2) etiam (114) tenerum quoddam inerat ut . . .* ⁴ *Idem tam strenuus . . . , or, Eo tamen robore . . .* ⁵ (98) *ad nutum eius agere parati.* ⁶ *Litteris parum studuerat.* ⁷ 58; or, 59, 2. ⁸ (120) *animus et sententiis et spe sublimis et magnificus.* ⁹ *si dis ita placitum.* ¹⁰ (94) *Pridie pugnae mortem sibi auguratus praesensione quadam, etc.*

Note.—The characters given by Suetonius, affording the best vocabulary for this style, will be found in the following references:—Julius 45; August. 79; Tiber. 68; Calig. 50; Claud. 30; Nero 51; Domit. 18.

LXXVI

¹ He was now twenty-one years of age, and was distinguished by a comeliness of person, remarked upon by more than one who had access to his presence. Their report is confirmed by the portraits of him taken before the freshness of youth had faded into the sallow hue of disease, and when care and anxiety had not yet given a sombre, perhaps sullen, expression to his features. ² He had a fair and even ³ delicate complexion. His hair and beard were of a light yellow. His eyes were blue, ⁴ with the eyebrows somewhat too closely knit together. His nose was thin ⁵ and aquiline. The principal blemish in his countenance was his thick lip. His lower jaw ⁶ protruded even more than that of his father. ⁷ To his father, indeed, he bore a great resemblance in his lineaments, though those of Philip were of a less intellectual cast. ⁸ In stature he was somewhat below the middle height, with ⁹ a slight, symmetrical figure, and ¹⁰ well-made limbs. ¹¹ He was

attentive to his dress, which was rich and elegant, but without any affectation of ornament.—PRESCOTT.

¹ 'That Philip, now twenty-one, was of extraordinary (*eximius*) beauty of body both those relate . . . and those likenesses (*imagines*) attest (*praestare fidem*) which were painted before his countenance, the bloom of youth being lost, had either paled with disease or was made sad, not to say gloomy (*morosus*),' etc. ² (1) *Colorem habuit*, etc. ; (2) *Fuit colore*, etc. ; (3) *Color candidus* . . . , *capillus* . . . *subflavus*, etc., without any addition of *erat* or the like (61, 5). Throughout the piece adopt one or other of these forms, occasionally varying them, and do not be afraid of giving a simple catalogue of characteristics. ³ *tener*. ⁴ *superciliis paullum coniunctioribus*. ⁵ *aduncus*, or, *a summo eminens*. ⁶ *proiectus*. ⁷ *Facies quidem* (61, 8 ; 123 a, 1) *patri simillima sed hebetior*. ⁸ *Statura fuit iusta minor*, or, *Statura quae (25) iustam non expleret (ad iustam non perveniret)*. ⁹ *exilis (tenuis) : gracilis*. ¹⁰ *teres*. ¹¹ 'Careful of neatness (*Munditiarum ita studiosus*) so as to wear a dress rich and elegant but at the same time quiet (*modicus*), and not at all pretentious (*minime ambitiosus*).'

PART II

NARRATIVE

LXXVII

¹ Surajah Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. ² There he called his councillors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English, from whom he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice and issued orders accordingly. ³ But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffier had arrived; and his terrors became insupportable. Disguised in a ⁴ mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let himself down at night from a window of his palace, and, accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river Patna.—MACAULAY.

¹ 'Surajah Dowlah, carried on a swift camel out of the field of battle with all the speed he could, in one day arrived at Moorshedabad.'
² (72) 'There (85, 1) his councillors having been called together, when the wisest advised . . ., suspecting that treachery was in the advice (*consilium*), he obeyed others bidding him . . .'
³ 'But (72) since spirit was wanting . . ., being apprised that . . ., he was seized with such a panic that . . .'
⁴ *servilis cultus* (or, *vestis*).

LXXVIII

But the more their troops increased in number, the more sensibly did the Imperialists feel the distress arising from want of money. ¹Far from having funds for paying a powerful army, they had scarcely what was sufficient for defraying the charges of conducting their artillery, and of carrying their ammunition and provisions. The abilities of their generals, however, supplied every defect. ²By their own ³example, as well as by magnificent promises in the name of the Emperor, they prevailed on the troops of all the different nations which composed their army to take the field without pay; ⁴they engaged to lead them directly towards the enemy; and ⁴flattered them with the certain prospect of victory, which would at once enrich them with such royal spoils as would be ample reward for all their services. The soldiers, sensible that, by quitting the army, they would forfeit the great arrears due to them, and eager to get possession of the promised treasures, ⁵demanded a battle with all the impatience of adventurers who fight only for plunder.

ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

¹ 85; 21. ² 90, 1. ³ Try and express 'example' and 'promises' by gerunds. ⁴ 57, 2. ⁵ 'Impatiently cried for battle like adventurers,' etc.

LXXIX

¹ The first cause of trouble after Philip's departure from the Netherlands arose from the detention of the Spanish troops there. ² The King had pledged his word that they should leave the country by the end of four months, at furthest. Yet that period had long since passed, and no preparations were made for their departure. ³ The indignation of the people rose higher and higher at the insult thus offered by the presence of these detested foreigners. ⁴ It was a season of peace. No invasion was threatened from abroad; no

insurrection existed at home. There was nothing ⁵ to require the maintenance of an extraordinary force, ⁶ much less of one composed of foreign troops. ⁷ It could only be that the King, distrusting his Flemish subjects, designed to overawe them by his mercenaries, in sufficient strength to enforce ⁸ his arbitrary acts. The free spirit of the Netherlanders was roused by these suggestions, and they boldly demanded the removal of the Spaniards.—PRESCOTT.

¹ 11 or 15. ² 72; 85. ³ Use historic infinitive. ⁴ Throw this (57, 2) into *Or. Obl.*, and consult 89 c. ⁵ 11. ⁶ 31. ⁷ 20. ⁸ 102.

LXXX

Alcibiades likewise prompted Tissaphernes with arguments to meet the remonstrances of the Peloponnesians, ¹ instructing him to plead the example of the Athenians, who from ² motives not of parsimony but of policy, for the preservation of temperance and discipline in their fleets, allowed their sailors only half a drachma a day. He himself undertook in ³ the satrap's name to answer the applications which were made to him by the revolted cities for pecuniary aid. The Chians he dismissed with a sharp rebuke: ⁴ wealthy as they were, they ought to be ashamed of calling upon others, not only to risk their lives, but to spend their resources for the defence of their own liberty. The others he admonished that it was only reasonable they should contribute ⁵ as much, at least, if not more, for the protection of their independence, as they had heretofore paid to the Athenians. For all, there was one specious pretext to cover the rejection of their demands. ⁶ Tissaphernes was obliged to use a strict economy, so long as he carried on the war with his private funds; he would be both just and liberal whenever he received a sufficient supply of treasure from the King.—THIRLWALL.

¹ 57, 2. ² 60, 10. ³ 129 b. ⁴ 57, 2; 55, 2. ⁵ 86 (*at*).

⁶ 57, 2: use *scilicet*.

LXXXI

His Highness then resolved to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook ¹it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them before they believed he thought of them, ²and charging and routing some of their horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he besieged them in their own intrenchment with his horse, before his foot came within four miles. ³In that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength to bring them into those straits, he, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart—⁴that is, to disband without their arms, or any carriage or baggage. Thus he relieved Newark; which was as ⁵unexpected a victory as any happened throughout the war.—CLARENDON.

¹ 123 a, 2.² 73.³ 85, 2.⁴ 90, 1.⁵ 61, 16.

LXXXII

¹ Padilla's army, fatigued and disheartened ²by their precipitant retreat, which they could not distinguish from a flight, happened at that time to be passing over a ploughed field, on which such a violent rain had fallen, that the soldiers sunk almost to the knees at every step, and remained exposed to the fire of some ³field-pieces which the Royalists had brought along with them. ⁴All these circumstances so disconcerted and intimidated raw soldiers, that ⁵without facing the enemy, or making any resistance, they fled in the utmost confusion. ⁶Padilla exerted himself with extraordinary courage and activity in order to rally them, though in vain, fear rendering them deaf both to his threats and entreaties:

upon which, finding matters irretrievable, and resolving not to survive the disgrace of that day, and the ruin of his party, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy; but, being wounded and dismounted, he was ⁷ taken prisoner. His principal officers shared the same fate; ⁸ the common soldiers were allowed to depart unhurt, the nobles being too generous to kill men who threw down their arms.—ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

¹ (72) *Forte eo tempore, or, Eo tempore accidit ut.* ² 'by a retreat so precipitant that they seemed to themselves to be flying.' ³ *t tormenta, ballistae:* or, simply, 'to the missiles of some Royalists.' ⁴ (85, 2) literally, or, 'Disconcerted by all which things,' etc. ⁵ 21, or, *non modo non . . . sed.* ⁶ (72) 'Hereupon Padilla (74), when employing extraordinary courage . . . he had in vain attempted to rally men in panic (*paventos*), and not lending their ears (or, 'not obeying') to threats or prayers, thinking that matters . . ., lest he might survive . . ., rushed . . .' ⁷ 'both himself was taken and his principal officers.' ⁸ (73) 'the common soldiers the nobles sent away unhurt,' etc.

LXXXIII

They within the town were easily reduced ¹ to straits they could not contend with; for, ² besides the enemy without, against which the walls and weather seemed of equal power, and the small stock of provisions, which, in so short time, they were able to draw thither, they had cause to apprehend their friends would be weary before their enemies; and that the citizens would not prove a trusty part of the garrison; ³ and their number of common men was so small, that ⁴ the constant duty was performed by the officers and gentlemen of quality, who were absolutely tired out. ⁵ So that after a week or ten days' siege, they were compelled, upon ⁶ no better articles than quarter, to deliver that city, which could hardly have been taken from them; ⁷ by which (with the loss of fifty or threescore gentlemen of quality and officers of name, whose very good reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute and unavoidable necessity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant garrisons so far from his own

quarters, where he could not, in reasonable time, administer succour or supply.—CLARENDON.

¹ *summae angustiae*. ² 'For besides the fact that (*praeter quam quod*) the enemy were without, whom fortifications and weather equally opposed (*adversari*), and that in the short time they had been able to collect only a small store of provisions, they feared that (18) . . .'
³ *simul*. ⁴ 'tired by constant duty (*perpetuis excubiis*), were worn out.' ⁵ 'And so, having been besieged a few days . . .'
⁶ 'on this condition only, that they themselves should be spared.' ⁷ 'which surrender, when fifty or threescore gentlemen . . ., such was their reputation for valour, by yielding themselves, showed to be a matter of . . ., the King no longer dared' (61, 12), etc.

LXXXIV

Meanwhile the fight, or rather massacre, continued hot around the Inca, whose person was the great object of assault. His faithful nobles, rallying about ¹ him, threw themselves in the way of the assailants, and strove, by tearing them from their saddles, or, at least, by offering their own bosoms as a mark for their ² vengeance, to shield their beloved master. ³ It is said by some authorities that they carried weapons concealed under their clothes. If so, it availed them little, as it is not pretended they used them. ⁴ But the most timid animal will defend itself when at bay. That they did not do so in the present instance is proof that they had no weapons to use. ⁵ Yet they still continued to force back the cavaliers, clinging to their horses with ⁶ dying grasp, and, as one was cut down, another taking the place of his fallen comrade with a loyalty truly affecting. The Indian monarch, stunned and bewildered, saw his faithful subjects falling round him without hardly comprehending his situation. At length, weary with the work of destruction, the Spaniards, as the shades of evening grew deeper, felt afraid that the royal prize might, after all, elude them; and some of the cavaliers made a desperate effort to end the affray at once by taking Atahualpa's life.—PRESCOTT.

¹ 63, 1. ² 58. ³ 58, 9; 78. ⁴ 91. ⁵ 72: make the period continue to 'situation.' ⁶ 120.

LXXXV

But when they sallied out, a spectacle presented itself to their view, which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and ¹ melted them into tenderness and compassion. ² The Imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no further, to perish without assistance. ³ This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. ⁴ The Duke of Guise immediately ordered proper refreshments for such as were dying of hunger; he appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; he removed such as could bear it into the adjacent villages; ⁵ and those who would have suffered by being carried so far, he admitted into the hospitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own soldiers. ⁶ So soon as they recovered, he sent them home under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges.—ROBERTSON.

¹ Make the subject personal (58). ² 90, 1. ³ 'And so (their) enemies helped (those) deserted by (their) friends.' ⁴ 89 a. ⁵ 90, 2.
⁶ Combine this with the previous sentence (85, 3).

LXXXVI

The first news they heard of the armies being engaged was by those who fled upon the first charge, who made marvellous haste from the place of danger, and thought not themselves safe till they were gotten out of any possible distance of being pursued. ¹ It is certain, though it was past two of the clock before the battle begun, many of the soldiers, and some commanders of no mean name, were at St. Albans, which was near thirty miles from the field, before it was dark. These men, as all runaways do for their own excuse, reported ² all for lost,

and the king's army to be so terrible that it could not be encountered. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cause, or whilst there was any hope, reported ³the progress of the battle, and presented all those lamentable things, and the circumstances ⁴by which every part of the army was defeated, which their ⁵terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they ran away; some had seen the Earl of Essex slain, and heard his ⁶dying words, 'that every one should shift for himself, for all resistance was to no purpose'; so that the whole city was, the Monday, full of defeat; and though there was an express from the Earl of Essex himself, of the contrary, there was not courage enough to believe it, and every hour produced somewhat to contradict the reports of the last.—CLARENDON.

¹ 85.² 58, 7.³ 58, 8.⁴ 128.⁵ *timor*.⁶ 58, 5.

LXXXVII

¹ That night, or rather two hours before dawn, Don Alvaro sallied out of the fortress at the head of all those who were capable of bearing arms. Under cover of the darkness, ²they succeeded in passing the triple row of intrenchments without alarming the slumbering enemy. ³At length, roused by the cries of their sentinels, the Turks sprang to their arms, and, gathering in dark masses round the Christians, presented an impenetrable barrier to their advance. ⁴The contest now became furious; but it was short. The heroic little band were ⁵too much enfeebled by their long fatigues, and by the total want of food for the last two days, to make head against the overwhelming number of their assailants. Many fell under the Turkish scymitars, ⁶and the rest, after a fierce struggle, were forced back on the path by which they had come, and took refuge in the port. ⁷Here Don Alvaro was speedily followed by such a throng as threatened to sink the bark, and made resistance hopeless. Yielding up his sword,

therefore, he was taken prisoner, and led off in triumph to the tent of the Turkish commander.—PRESCOTT.

¹ 72; 74, *duce A.* ² 61, 12. ³ 85; 72. ⁴ 59, 3.
 ⁵ 25. ⁶ 89 a. ⁷ 72; 74.

LXXXVIII

The army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the enemy. About eight of the clock in the morning, it began to be doubted whether the intelligence they had received of the enemy was true. Upon which the scout-master was sent to make farther discovery; ¹ who, it seems, went not far enough, but returned and averred that he had been three or four miles forward, and could neither discover nor hear anything of them; ² presently a report was raised in the army that the enemy was retired. Prince Rupert thereupon drew out a party of horse, both to discover and engage them, the army remaining still in the same place and posture they had been in. ³ His Highness had not marched above a mile, when he received certain intelligence of their advance, and in a short time after he saw the van of their army, ⁴ but, it seems, not so distinctly but that he conceived they were retiring. Whereupon he advanced nearer with his horse, and sent back 'that the army should march up to him': and the messenger who brought the order said that the Prince desired that they should make haste. Thereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the enemy, ⁵ as well as might be.—CLARENDON.

¹ 73. ² 72; 73. ³ 72. ⁴ 23. ⁵ 55, 1.

LXXXIX

¹ As for his dismission out of France, they interpreted it, not ² as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver, but contrariwise, ³ that it did show manifestly

unto the world that he was some great matter, ⁴ for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace, being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin, for his part, ⁵ wanting to himself, ⁶ either in gracious or princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in petty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt him; but in all things did notably acquit himself, inso-much as ⁷ it was generally believed, as well among great persons as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard. ⁸ Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be, and ⁹ from a liar to a believer. The duchess, therefore, as in case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew; and her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, ¹⁰ expressed no less respect.—FRANCIS BACON, *Perkin Warbeck*.

¹ 16. ² *tanquam*, or, *quasi*. ³ Infinitive. ⁴ 'for that by the abandonment (*iactura*) of him, since they had only preferred their own interests and hopes to the fortunes (123B, b) of a poor distressed prince, two great monarchs had made peace.' ⁵ *occasione* (or, *sibi*) *deerat*. ⁶ (89 a) Use a series of short sentences with hist. infin.: 'he behaved himself . . . , he answered . . . ; he satisfied . . .' ⁷ 58, 9. ⁸ 87. ⁹ Literally, using *ex*; or turning it so as to employ verbs. ¹⁰ *eadem observantia uti*.

XC

He observed, that from the seventeenth year of his age he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects, ¹ reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his ease; ² that while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, and the vigour of his constitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, he had never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; that now, when his health was broken, and his vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, his

growing infirmities admonished him to retire ; nor was he so fond of reigning as to retain ³ the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects ; that instead of a sovereign worn out with disease, and scarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accustomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour ⁴ of youth all the attention and sagacity of maturer years ; that if, under the pressure of so many and great affairs, he had either neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored ⁵ their forgiveness ; that, for his part, he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat as his sweetest consolation.—ROBERTSON.

¹ 23.² 89 c.³ 97.⁴ 111 a.⁵ 58, 8.

XCI

¹ The place in its situation was strong ; and though the fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the walls were good, and the moat broad and deep ; and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any sudden ² assault, and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been very secure against the attempts of those without. ³ But the provisions of victual, or ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long siege ; and the officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. So upon an easy and short summons that threatened his ⁴ obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement ⁵ if he should defer the giving it up, either from the effect of his own fear and want of courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the soldiers, the castle was surrendered the third day, and appeared to be a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good army.—CLARENDON.

¹ 61, 5 ; 89 a.² 58.³ 72.⁴ 58 or 59, 1.⁵ 51, 4.

with the rest of his troops below. In the morning the garrison of Piraeum, seeing the enemy above them, considered resistance as hopeless, and ⁴ evacuated the fortress, with the women, slaves, and all the property that had been sheltered there, and ⁵ took refuge in a neighbouring sanctuary of Here, which lay nearer to the seaside. ⁶ But after the troops on the heights above Piraeum had descended and taken the fortress of Oenoe in the north, and Agesilaus had come up from the opposite side, ⁷ the fugitives in the Heraeum surrendered to him unconditionally.—THIRLWALL.

¹ *simulando quasi . . . aggredetur (aggressurus esset).* ² 85.

³ *orto sole statim regressus* (96). ⁴ participle. ⁵ *primo*. ⁶ *deinde* (73).

⁷ omit 'the fugitives in the Heraeum.'

XCIV

There ¹ In the camp of Issus Heraclius reformed ² the sloth and disorder of the veterans, and educated the new recruits in the knowledge and practice of military virtue. He urged them ~~to~~ revenge the holy altars which had been profaned by the worshippers of fire; addressing them by the endearing appellations of sons and brethren, he deplored the public and private wrongs of the ~~public~~. The subjects of a ³ monarch were persuaded that they fought in the cause of freedom, and a similar enthusiasm was communicated to the foreign mercenaries, who ⁴ must have viewed with equal indifference the interest of Rome and of Persia. The general himself, with the skill and patience of a centurion, inculcated the lessons of the school of tactics, and the soldiers were assiduously trained in the use of their weapons and the exercises and evolutions of the field. ⁵ Whatever hardship the emperor imposed on the troops, he inflicted with equal severity on himself; their labour, their diet, their sleep, were measured by the inflexible rules of discipline; and, ⁶ without despising the enemy, they were taught to repose an implicit confidence in their own valour and the wisdom of their leader.—GIBBON.

¹ Consult 89 throughout the piece. ² 59, 1. ³ *rex*.

⁴ 61, 12; or use fut. part. ⁵ 45; 66, 5. ⁶ 23.

XCV

Thus abandoned by the nobles in whom the country had the greatest confidence, she was left alone, as it were, with the man whom the country held in the greatest abhorrence. She had long seen with alarm ¹ the storm gathering round the devoted head of the minister. To attempt alone ² to uphold his fallen fortunes would be probably ² to bury herself in their ruins. In her extremity, she appealed to the confederates, and, since she could not divide them, endeavoured to divert them from their opposition. They, on the other hand, besought ³ the regent no longer to connect herself with the desperate cause of a minister so odious to the country. Possibly they infused into her mind ⁴ some suspicions of the subordinate part she was made to play, through the overweening ambition of the cardinal. At all events, an obvious change took place in her conduct, and, while she deferred less and less to him, she entered into more and more friendly relations ⁵ with his enemies. This was especially the case with Egmont, whose frank and courteous bearing and loyal disposition seem to have won greatly on the esteem of the duchess.—PRESCOTT.

¹ 93. ² 93 or 95. ³ 129 b. ⁴ 58, 8. ⁵ (73 ; 78) 'both with the rest of his enemies, and especially with Egmont.' ⁶ 129 b.

XCVI

¹ The Roman general was strong, active, and dexterous : on every side he discharged his weighty and mortal strokes ; his faithful guards imitated his valour, and defended his person ; and the Goths, ² after the loss of a thousand men, ³ fled before the arms of an hero. ⁴ They were rashly pursued to their camp ; and the Romans, oppressed by multitudes, made a gradual and at length a precipitate retreat to the gates of the city : the gates were shut against the fugi-

tives, and the public terror was increased by the report that Belisarius was slain. ⁵ His countenance was indeed disfigured by sweat, dust, and blood ; his voice was hoarse, his strength was almost exhausted ; but his unconquerable spirit still remained ; ⁶ he imparted that spirit to his desponding companions ; and their last desperate charge was felt by the flying barbarians as if a new army, vigorous and entire, had been poured from the city. ⁷ The Flaminian gate was thrown open to a real triumph ; but it was not before Belisarius had visited every post, and provided for the public safety, that he could be persuaded by his wife and friends ⁸ to taste the needful refreshments of food and sleep.—GIBBON.

¹ 89 a. ² ‘a thousand men having been killed.’ ³ ‘fled, put to flight by the arms of a single man.’ ⁴ (72 ; 85, 2) ‘whom the Romans rashly having pursued as far as to their camp (67), when oppressed by numbers at first (86), they gradually retreated (*pedem referre*), then had fled precipitately (117, 3), the gates were shut against them retiring (*se recipere*) into the city.’ ⁵ (78) *Et erat quidem vultus*, etc. ⁶ ‘Inspired with which when his desponding companions had made . . . , the barbarians, as if a new army . . . , fled.’ ⁷ *Tum vero*. ⁸ *corpus cibo somnoque curare*.

XCVII

¹ The armies were nearly equal in number ; but a body of Italian cavalry, in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled without making any resistance, ² either through the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, his infantry remained exposed to the attacks of all Medecino's troops. Encouraged, however, ³ by Strozzi's presence and example, ⁴ who, after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavouring to rally the cavalry, placed himself at the head of the infantry, and manifested an admirable presence of mind, as well as an extraordinary valour, ⁵ they stood their ground with great firmness, and repulsed such of the enemy as ventured to approach them. ⁶ But those gallant troops, being

surrounded at last on every side, and torn in pieces by a battery of cannon, which Medecino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in upon their flanks, and a general rout ensued. Strozzi, faint with the loss of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal consequences of his own rashness, ⁷ found the utmost difficulty in making his escape with a handful of men.—ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

¹ 72. ² 62. ³ 'Himself being present and encouraging (them, 123 a, 2) by his example.' ⁴ 36. ⁵ *primo*. ⁶ (73 ; 74) *deinde*.
³ 'with difficulty at last escaped.'

XCVIII

The generals immediately assembled their men, and after protesting against the illegal proceedings by which they had been sentenced ¹ unheard and in a mass, they exhorted them not to relax their zeal or their discipline, and ² desired them to elect commanders in their room, until their successors should have arrived from Syracuse. This request was received with general acclamation, especially from the officers and soldiers, ³ bidding them retain their office. But the generals deprecated ⁴ all resistance to legal authority, however unjustly exercised, though at the same time they declared themselves ready to give an account of their administration, if any one present had aught to allege against them, and ⁵ reminded their hearers of the victories they had gained and of the distinctions with which they had been honoured by their allies. ⁶ This appeal was attended with an effect which they probably expected. ⁷ Not a voice was raised except to renew the former acclamations, and they accordingly consented to remain in command ⁸ until they were superseded by the new generals.
 —THIRLWALL.

¹ *indicta causa universi*. ² 57, 2. ³ 58, 10. ⁴ 58, 8. ⁵ *meminissent*.
⁶ 58. ⁷ 58, 10. ⁸ 'until new generals were elected (*sufficio*).'

XCIX

¹The condition of the ²besieged, in the meantime, was forlorn in the extreme ; not so much from want of food, though their supplies were scanty, as from excessive toil and exposure. Then it was that Coligni displayed all the strength of his character. ³He felt the ⁴importance of holding out as long as possible, that the nation might have ⁵time to breathe, ⁶as it were, and recover from the late disaster. ⁷He endeavoured to infuse his own spirit into the hearts of his soldiers, toiling with the meanest of them, and sharing all their privations. He cheered the desponding, by assuring them ⁸of speedy relief from their countrymen. Some he complimented for their bravery ; others he flattered by asking their advice. He talked loudly of the resources at his command. ⁹If any should hear him so much as hint at a surrender, ¹⁰he gave them leave to tie him hand and foot, and throw him into the moat. If he should hear one of them talk of it, ¹¹the admiral promised to do as much by him.—PRESCOTT.

¹ 72. ² 130, 2. ³ 'He' = *Hic*, 72. ⁴ 58, 7. ⁵ 93. ⁶ 99. ⁷ (89 a) Use historic infinitives. ⁸ 58, 7. ⁹ 57, 2. ¹⁰ 'Let them tie him.' ¹¹ (129 b) Put the pronoun first.

C

¹Such was the loss and consternation of the Goths, that from this day the siege of Rome degenerated into a tedious and indolent blockade ; and they were incessantly harassed by the Roman general, who, in frequent skirmishes, destroyed above five thousand of their bravest troops. ²Their cavalry were unpractised in the use of the bow ; their archers served on foot ; and this divided force was incapable of contending with their adversaries, whose lances and arrows, at a distance, or at hand, were alike formidable. ³The consummate skill of Belisarius ⁴embraced the favourable opportunities ; and as he

chose the ground and the moment, as he pressed the charge or sounded the retreat, the squadrons which he detached were seldom unsuccessful. ⁵ These partial advantages diffused an impatient ardour among the soldiers and people, ⁶ who began to feel the hardships of a siege, and to disregard the danger of a general engagement. Each plebeian ⁷ conceived himself to be an hero, and the infantry, who, since the decay of discipline, were rejected from the line of battle, aspired to the ancient honours of the Roman legion.—GIBBON.

¹ 29; 90, 3. ² 85, 2; 67; 90, 2. ³ 85. ⁴ 96. ⁵ Make the subject 'personal.' ⁶ 70. ⁷ *sibi videri*.

CI

But in the midst of the general joy ¹ there was one ground of regret which affected the best feelings of the people, and was soon perverted into an occasion of unjust suspicion and vehement indignation. It was evident from the despatches of the generals themselves that a great number of lives had been lost, which under ordinary circumstances of the same kind would have been preserved; and it did not clearly appear that the loss might not have been prevented by a little more activity or attention. ² The thought, that hundreds of the brave men who had ³ contributed most to the victory had been suffered to perish through neglect by a miserable death, and had been even deprived of the rites of burial, while their comrades were near at hand, and might have gone to their relief, was of all the most fitted to rouse the popular resentment against the persons who were chargeable with such remissness; and if the generals did not very distinctly explain their own conduct, ⁴ it was not unreasonable to presume that they were conscious it would not ⁵ bear examination.—THIRLWALL.

¹ 61, 16. ² 'In the minds of people reflecting that . . . , resentment was likely to burst forth against,' etc. ³ 96. ⁴ 'it was not unreasonably (*non iniuria*) thought that (58, 9) . . . ' ⁵ 96.

CII

The people meeting, in various expectation, were surprised to find, not the magistrates, but the exiles, with those resident citizens known to be most friendly to them, in possession of the *bema*. ¹The first speaker began with boldly asserting that the rumour, which all had heard, of Alexander's death, was perfectly authenticated. ²He proceeded then to urge ³the expediency of using the opportunity, offered by the gods, for breaking the accursed ⁴yoke of Macedonia, and asserting their freedom. ⁵The magistrates meanwhile, uninformed of the assassination of the military commanders, and anxious, in such an emergency, for their support, waited hesitating. The bold leaders of the conspiracy, thus alone speakers, presently proposed to the assembly, That the alliance with Macedonia ⁶should be renounced, and that the garrison in the citadel ⁶should be expelled. ⁷Acclamation was ready from those prepared: others, in fear and uncertainty, were silent; the conspirators assumed that the sovereign people had decreed as had been proposed, and proceeded diligently to give efficacy to this mandate of the surprised assembly. All whom they could trust, and as many more as they thought they might restrain, were collected in arms. Siege was laid to the citadel, and works of circumvallation were begun.—MITFORD.

¹ 85. ² 57, 2. ³ 58, 7. ⁴ 93. ⁵ 72. ⁶ 61, 12. ⁷ 89 a.

CIII

When the General was, with his party, near the town, he apprehended a fellow, who confessed upon examination that he was a spy, and sent by the Governor to bring intelligence of their ¹strength and motion. ²When all men thought, and the poor fellow himself feared, he should be executed, the general caused his whole party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon

them, and observe them, and then bid him return to the town and tell those that sent him what he had seen, and withal that he should acquaint the magistrates of the town that they should do well to treat with the garrison to give them leave to submit to the king; ³ that if they did so, the town ⁴ should not receive the least prejudice, but if they compelled him to make his way, and enter the town by force, it would not be in his power to keep his soldiers from taking that which they should win with their blood: ⁵ and so dismissed him. This generous act proved of some advantage; for the fellow, transported with having his life given him; and the numbers of the men he had seen, besides his no experience in such sights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable ⁶ relations of the strength, ⁷ gallantry, and resolution of the enemy, and of the impossibility of resisting ⁸ them; which, ⁹ though it prevailed not with those in authority to yield, yet it strangely abated the hopes and courage of the people.—CLARENDON.

¹ 58, 8. ² 72. ³ 57, 2. ⁴ 59, 3. ⁵ 73. ⁶ 61, 10. ⁷ 59, 1.
⁸ 123 a, 2 b. ⁹ 78 or 46.

CIV

¹ Some of the senators were ² disposed to adopt a less merciful course; and one of these called to the Privernatian deputies who had been sent to Rome to sue for mercy, and asked them, 'Of what penalty, even in their own judgment, were their countrymen deserving?' ³ A Privernatian boldly answered, 'Of the penalty due to those who assert their liberty.' The consul, dreading the effect of this reply, tried to obtain another of a humbler ⁴ strain, and he asked the deputy, 'But if we spare you now, what peace may we ⁵ expect to have with you ⁶ for the time to come?' 'Peace true and lasting,' was the answer, 'if its terms be good; if otherwise, a peace that will soon be broken.' ⁷ Some senators cried out that this was the language of downright ⁸ rebellion; but the majority were moved with a nobler feeling, and the consul, turning to the senators of highest rank, who sat near

⁹ him, said aloud, 'These men, whose whole hearts are set upon liberty, deserve to become Romans.' Accordingly it was proposed to the people, and carried, that the Privernatians ¹⁰ should be admitted to the right of Roman citizenship.—ARNOLD.

¹ 76. ² 61, 12. ³ 112, 1 a. ⁴ 96. ⁵ 61, 12. ⁶ 115.
⁷ 85. ⁸ 58, 1. ⁹ 123 a, 2 b. ¹⁰ 61, 12.

CV

Though this ¹ calculation of Archidamus was not realised, it was nevertheless founded upon most rational grounds. ² What he anticipated was on the point of happening, ³ and nothing prevented it except the personal ascendancy of Pericles, strained to its very utmost. ⁴ So long as the invading army was engaged in the Thriasian plain, the Athenians had some faint hope that it might advance no farther into the interior. But when it came to Acharnae, within sight of the city walls, when the ravagers were actually seen destroying buildings, fruit trees, and crops, in the plain of Athens, a sight strange to every Athenian eye except to those very old men who recollected the Persian invasion, ⁵ the exasperation of the general body of citizens rose to a pitch never before known. ⁶ The Acharnians first of all, next the youthful citizens generally, became madly clamorous for arming and going forth to fight. Knowing well their own great strength, but less correctly informed of the superior strength of the enemy, they felt confident that victory was ⁷ within their reach. / ⁸ Groups of citizens were everywhere gathered together, angrily debating the critical questions of the moment; while the usual concomitants of excited feeling, oracles and prophecies of diverse tenor, many of them doubtless promising success against the enemy, were eagerly caught up and circulated.—GROTE.

¹ 61, 10. ² 85. ³ 'unless (61, 9) Pericles had . . . used his popularity . . .'
⁴ 85; 44. ⁵ 58. ⁶ 89 a. ⁷ 93 or 97. ⁸ 89 a.

CVI

¹ This formidable association, seeing that all attempts to work on the cardinal were ineffectual, resolved at length to apply directly to the king ² for his removal. They stated that, knowing the heavy cares which pressed on his majesty, they had long dissembled and kept silence, rather ³ than aggravate these cares by their complaints. If they now broke this silence, it was from a sense of duty to the king, and to save their country from ruin. ⁴ They enlarged on the lamentable condition of affairs, which, without specifying any particular charges, they imputed altogether to the cardinal, or rather to the position in which he stood in reference to the nation. It was impossible, ⁵ they said, that the business of the country could prosper, where the minister who directed it was held in such general detestation by the people. They earnestly implored the king to ⁶ take immediate measures for removing an evil which menaced the speedy ruin of the land. And ⁷ they concluded with begging that they might be allowed to resign their seats in the council of state, where, in the existing state of affairs, their presence could be of no service.—PRESCOTT.

^{1, 2} 58.³ 55, 6.^{4, 5, 7} 57, 2.⁶ 96.

CVII

¹ The king of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far, yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him ² in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years altogether; nay

more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him ; and that to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people³ whom he might not hold in any long discontent, and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some better place for his exile, telling him withal, that⁴ he could not say but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that, upon two several trials, none had declared themselves upon his side ; but nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was, that he would not repent him for putting himself into his hands ; for that he would not cast him off,⁵ but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire.—FRANCIS BACON.

¹ 72. ² Begin *Or. Obl.*, 57, 2. ³ 73. ⁴ i.e. Perkin Warbeck. ⁵ 21.

CVIII

¹ Several voices were still raised against the treaty ; ² not however because any ³ apprehensions were entertained that the Spartans would not observe it, and would use the power it gave them to treat the Athenians as slaves, but ⁴ because it was seen that the restoration of the exiles was the first ⁵ step toward the abolition of democracy. ⁶ Theramenes himself was attacked, and his conduct is said to have been contrasted by one Cleomenes with ⁷ that of Themistocles, who had outwitted the enemy for the security of Athens, as Theramenes had deceived his confiding countrymen to deprive them of their means of defence. But Theramenes ⁸ felt himself strong enough to disregard these taunts ; ⁹ it was for the safety of the citizens that the walls had been erected by Themistocles, and it was for the same end that he now proposed to demolish them ; if walls were essential to the welfare of a city, Sparta, which had none, must be in the worst plight of all. The majority of the assembly was glad to purchase relief from the

horrors of famine at any price ; it adopted the treaty, and approved of the proceedings which had been instituted against the persons accused by Agoratus, ¹⁰ who were committed to prison for trial.—THIRLWALL.

¹ 58, 5. ² 35. ³ 61, 10. ⁴ 'because' may be omitted, (35).
⁵ 96. ⁶ 74. ⁷ 123 b. ⁸ (96) *se ipso fretus*. ⁹ 57, 2. ¹⁰ 70.

CIX

¹ But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the king, in the strait he was in, ² which being pursued ³ might not have proved inconvenient ; so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those councils, that resolutions, taken upon full debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness ; but changed upon new, shorter debates, and upon objections which had been answered before : ⁴ some men being in their natures irresolute, and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals ; others being positive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, ⁵ how unreasonably soever, or what ⁶ alterations soever there were in the affairs. And the king himself frequently considered more the person who spoke, ⁷ as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given ; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done ; ⁸ which rarely deceived him so much as that of other men.—CLARENDON.

¹ 72, 78. ² 67. ³ 131, 3. ⁴ 73 ; 85. ⁵ 45. ⁶ 58.
⁷ 128 ; 55, 4. ⁸ 66.

CX

In this desultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, ¹ till prudence and fatigue ² compelled him to return to his camp. But ³ a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe ; and no sooner had the standard

been turned to the rear than the phalanx was broken ⁴ by the base cowardice, or the baser jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the ⁵ purple of the Caesars. ⁶ As long as a hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally and save the relics of his army. ⁷ When the centre, the imperial station, was left naked on all sides, and encompassed by the victorious Turks, he still, with ⁸ desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. ⁹ They fell around him; his horse was slain; the emperor was wounded; yet he stood alone and intrepid till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes.—GIBBON.

¹ 44 or 89 a.² 58, 10.³ 78.⁴ 58.⁵ 95 or 97.^{6, 7, 9} *Primum . . . mox . . . deinde* (86).⁸ 120.⁹ 72.

CXI

The colonel continued his usual retirement all that winter and the next summer, about the end of which he dreamt one night that he saw certain men in a boat upon the Thames, labouring against wind and tide, to bring their boat, which stuck in the sands, to shore; ¹ at which he, being in the boat, was angry with them, and told them they toiled in vain, and would never effect their purpose; but ² said he, let it alone and let me try; whereupon he laid himself down in the boat, and applying his breast to the head ³ of it, gently shoved it along, till he came to land on the Southwark side, and there, ⁴ going out of the boat, he walked into the most pleasant, lovely fields, so green and flourishing, and so embellished with the cheerful sun that shone upon them, that he never saw anything so delightful, and there he met his father, who gave him certain leaves of laurel which had many words written on them which he could not read.

Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

¹ 57, 2.² 'that he said . . .'³ 123 a, 2 b.⁴ 60, 13.

CXII

¹The colonel was never superstitious of dreams, but this stuck a little in his mind, and we were, therefore, seeking applications of it, which proved to be nothing in the event, but that having afforded me comfort, I know not whether the dream might not have been inspired. ²The boat represented the commonwealth, which several unquiet people sought to enfranchise, ³by vain endeavours against wind and tide, paralleling the plots and designs some impatient people then carried on without strength, or council, or unity, among themselves; ⁴his lying down and shoving it with his breast, might signify the advancement of the cause by the patient suffering of the martyrs, among which his own was to be eminent; and on the other side of the river ⁴his landing into walks of everlasting pleasure, ⁴he dying on that shore, and his father's giving him these laurel leaves with unintelligible characters foretold him those triumphs which he could not read in his mortal estate.

Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

- ¹ 78. ² 'for we thus interpreted the dream: that the boat,'
etc. ³ 'that the vain endeavours . . . were like the plots,' etc.
⁴ 15.

CXIII

¹As soon as the king received this account of his letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those addresses, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to fight with the enemy as soon as was possible, and so, the next day, drew up all his army in sight of the enemy; ²and had many skirmishes between the horse of both armies, ³till the enemy quitted that part of a large heath upon which they stood and retired to a hill near the park of Lord Mohun; they having possession of his house, where they quartered conveniently.

That night, both armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the field ; and many are of opinion, that if the king had that day vigorously advanced upon the enemy, to which his army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, ⁴ they would have been easily defeated : ⁵ for the king's army was in good heart, and willing to engage ; on the contrary, the Earl's seemed much surprised, and in confusion, to see the other army so near them. ⁶ But such censures always attend such conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done, as well as with that which is done.—CLARENDON.

¹ (68 ; 72 ; 85, 2) ' Which reply as soon as the king saw was returned to his letter, and that there was no hope in messages of the kind,' etc.

² *Ibi primo* . . . ³ *deinde*. ⁴ Reverse the construction (74).

⁶ (57, 2) ' As men are accustomed . . . to find fault,' etc.; or, ' For so it happens (*fit*) in such conjunctures, that men find fault,' etc.

CXIV

In the meantime the fleet was ¹exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the island ²the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence, that many transports ran foul of ³one another and were disabled. A number of boats and small craft foundered, and divers large ships lost their anchors. ⁴The enemy resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, prepared seven fire-ships ; and at midnight sent them down among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. ⁵The scheme, though well contrived, and seasonably executed, ⁶was entirely defeated by the ⁷deliberation of the British admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships and towed them fast aground, ⁸where they lay burning to the water's



edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron.—SMOLLETT.

¹ *maximum adiit discrimen.* ² 'the wind increasing, so great and vehement (129) a storm arose.' ³ 126 b, 2. ⁴ 'The enemy, thinking that this disaster . . ., in order that they might take advantage (utor) of it, when they had filled seven ships with combustibles,' etc. ⁵ 85, 2. ⁶ Use the active: *ad irritum* (115) *redegit.* ⁷ *prudentia.* ⁸ 'where sticking fast they burnt . . . and did not . . .'

CXV

¹ Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, ² he, ³ with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, ⁴ instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal surgeon resided, and there ⁵ his wounds were immediately dressed. ⁶ By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from the excessive effusion of blood; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the ⁷ regicide, in case he ⁸ should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the king's ⁹ recollection was magnified into a miracle, ¹⁰ on a supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and, indeed, ¹¹ among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interposition of Providence.—SMOLLETT.

¹ 61, 12. ² *Rex*: at the beginning. ³ 'who cannot sufficiently be wondered at for being of such presence of mind (4; 6; 58, 8).' ⁴ 21. ⁵ (74) 'got (*curo*, or, 61, 13) his wounds dressed.' ⁶ 85, 2. ⁷ 103, 1. ⁸ 60, 13. ⁹ i.e. 'collectedness.' ¹⁰ *quod* (35), or, *quasi* (53). ¹¹ (55, 1) *ut in populo nimium superstitioso.*

CXVI

¹ His arrival could not have been more seasonable. ² The guns were speedily turned on the French ³ squares, whose dark array presented an obvious mark to the Spanish bullets.

Their firm ranks were rent asunder; and, as the brave men tried in vain to close over the bodies of their dying comrades, the horse ⁴ took advantage of the openings to plunge into the midst of the phalanx. Here the long spears of the pikemen were of no avail, and, striking right and left, the cavaliers dealt ⁵ death on every side. ⁶ All now was confusion and irretrievable ruin. ⁷ No one thought of fighting, or even of self-defence. The only thought was of flight. Men overturned ⁸ one another in their eagerness to escape. They were soon mingled with the routed cavalry, who rode down their own countrymen. Horses ran about the fields without riders. Many of the soldiers threw away their arms, to fly the more quickly. All strove to escape from the terrible pursuit which hung on their rear. The artillery and ammunition waggons choked up the road, and obstructed the flight of the fugitives. The slaughter was dreadful. The best blood of France flowed like water.—PRESCOTT.

¹ 'He came up most opportunely' (61, 16). ² (72) 'a shower of darts having been delivered,' etc. ³ *cuneus, globus*. ⁴ *equites ut intervallis ut mediam irrumperent in phalangem*. ⁵ *strages*. ⁶ (89 a) 'Everything as in a matter despaired of was in confusion (*trepido* [59, 3], or, *turbo*).'⁷ 'No one any longer fought,' etc.; or, 'the soldiers, giving up thought (*cura*) of fighting . . ., placed all hope of safety in flight.'⁸ 126 b.

CXVII

The townsmen, ¹ through discontent at the drawing out of the forces, whereby their houses, families, and estates were exposed, began to envy, then to hate the castle, as grieved that anything should be preserved when all could not; ² and, indeed, those who were more concerned in private interests than in the cause itself, had some reason, because the neighbourhood of the castle, when it was too weak to defend them, would endanger them. ³ In this hate and discontent, all the soldiers being townsmen, except some of the governor's own company, they resolved they would not go into the

castle to behold the ruin of their houses; little considering that when the governor first came into Nottingham to defend them, ⁴ at their earnest desire, he left a house and a considerable estate to the mercy of the enemy, rather desiring to advance the cause than to secure his own stake; but their mean and half-affected hearts were not capable of such things. ⁵ The governor, perceiving this defection, set some of the most zealous honest men to find out how many there were in the town who, neglecting all ⁶ private interests, would cheerfully and freely come in and venture all with him; ⁷ intending, if he could not have found enough to defend the place, that he would have sent to other neighbouring garrisons to have borrowed some.—*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.*

¹ *aegre ferentes.* ² (86) *Et* (followed closely by the verb). ³ (72) 'And so the soldiery, all of whom (*qui omnes*) were townsmen . . . , though the governor . . . , yet, so great was their cowardice . . . , resolved,' etc. ⁴ 58, 2. ⁵ 85, 2. ⁶ *sua commoda.* ⁷ 131, 1.

CXVIII

¹ Notwithstanding this public resolution in the hall to his company, he told them, and many others in private, that ² he preferred the interest of the town above that of his life, and would expose his life for the good of it, and stand on the works of the town as long as they could be defended, and when they could no longer be kept, he would retire to some other garrison. Others he told, he scorned that his colours should serve in the castle; that if his company went up thither he would get him a new one, which should follow him wherever he went, ³ and many more such things in private; but he openly, both to the governor and others, approved and encouraged their going into the castle. According to his advice, the townsmen, ⁴ as they were diversely affected, disposed of themselves; the malignants all laid down their arms and stayed in the town, but some honest and well-affected, not bold enough to ⁵ stand the hazard, went to other parliament-garrisons and served there; others

secured themselves, their goods, and families in the country ; some enlisted into the castle. At length out of all the four companies and the whole town, about three hundred men enlisted into the castle.—*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.*

¹ (68) 'Which design although he had publicly announced,' etc. ² 'he would more readily (*libentius*, or, *mallo*) consult the interest of the townspeople (58, 4) than of himself.' ³ 61, 6 ; 73. ⁴ 55, 4 ; 128. ⁵ (93) *alea* ; or (94) *periclitari*.

CXIX

¹ The sentiments which he excited in the breasts of the spectators were various ² as the view they took of the events which had caused so great a change in the state of Athens since his last departure. The majority, however, regarded him ³ as an injured man, the victim of the envy and animosity of his ambitious and turbulent rivals, who had first denied him an opportunity ⁴ of vindicating his innocence, and then had misled the people and driven him into exile. ⁵ It was his misfortune rather than his fault that he had been obliged to take refuge among the enemies of his country, ⁶ who had shown by their treatment of him how little they believed his heart to be with them, how much they dreaded his unalterable attachment to others. Great as his abilities were, his fellow-citizens had nothing to fear, but much to hope from them. ⁷ For minds like his the honours with which the people rewarded his services were sufficient to satisfy their ambition ; his adversaries, who, conscious of no real merit, could only hope to rise upon the ruin of abler and better men, were much more ⁸ dangerous to the commonwealth. There were, however, others who considered him as the sole author of their past calamities, and of all the dangers which were still impending over Athens.—THIRLWALL.

¹ (72) 'Though different spectators thought different things . . . yet the majority,' etc. ² (55, 4) *prout quisque interpretabatur*. ³ (36) 'as being a man whom the envy . . . had injured,' etc. ⁴ *sui purgandi*. ⁵ 57, 2. ⁶ 'who had so used him that it was apparent,' etc. ⁷ 61, 16 ; 63. ⁸ *infestus, perniciosus*.

CXX

The king marched at their head, bearing in his right hand a lance, and an ample buckler in his left; with the one he struck dead the foremost of his assailants, with the other he received the weapons ¹ which every hand was ambitious to aim against his life. ² After a combat of many hours, his left arm was fatigued by the weight of twelve javelins which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground or suspending his blows, the hero called aloud on his attendants for a fresh buckler, but in the moment while his side was uncovered, it was pierced by a mortal dart. He fell; and his head, exalted on a spear, proclaimed to the nations that the Gothic kingdom was no more. ³ But the example of his death served only to animate the companions who had sworn to perish with their leader. They fought till darkness descended on the earth. They reposed on their arms. The combat was renewed with the return of light, and maintained with unabated vigour till the evening of the second day. ⁴ The repose of a second night, the want of water, and the loss of their bravest champions, determined the surviving Goths to accept the fair capitulation which the ⁵ prudence of Narses ⁶ was inclined to propose.—GIBBON.

¹ *quibus certatim ab omnibus petebatur.* ² (72) 'when now the fight had gone on (59, 3) . . . and his left arm, twelve javelins encumbering (*gravo*) his shield, grew tired, he (*ille* [129 b], or, *vir*) neither retiring (*loco cedens*) nor intermitting his blows at last called aloud . . . , and, while for a moment he uncovers his side, struck down (*confectus*) by a mortal (*gravis*, or, *mortifer*) wound fell, and his head exalted (*sublatus*) on a spear was an indication,' etc. ³ 'But, stirred by the example, the companions . . . , when they had fought . . . , on that night indeed rested holding their arms, on the next day renewed the fight.' ⁴ 'But when a second night had given space for reflection, the rest induced by want . . . ,' etc. ⁵ Literally, or, 55, 2. ⁶ 61, 12.

CXXI

Permission was then given him to speak, and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffered, he told them, 'since the king had owned ¹ them so far as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bareheaded, ² which otherwise he would not willingly have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that when an army from Scotland had invaded England in assistance of the rebellion that was then against their lawful king, he had by his majesty's command, received a commission from him to raise forces in Scotland, that he might thereby divert them from the other odious persecution; that he had executed that commission with the obedience and duty he owed to the king; that when the king commanded him, he laid down his arms, and withdrew out of the kingdom; which they could not have compelled him to have done.' ³ He said, 'he was now again entered into the kingdom by his majesty's command and with his authority: and what success soever it might have pleased God to have given him, he would always have obeyed any commands he should have received from him.' ⁴ He advised them, 'to consider well of the ⁵ consequences before they proceeded against him, and that all his actions might be examined, and judged by the laws of the land, or those of nations.'—CLARENDON.

¹ 123 a, 2.² 56.³ 57, 2.⁴ 57, 2.⁵ 58, 8.

CXXII

¹ In this extremity Manlius, well knowing that in a contest so unequal the last reserve brought into the field on either side would inevitably decide the day, still kept back the veterans of his second line, and called forward only his supernumeraries, whom for this very ² purpose he had, con-

trary to the usual custom, furnished with complete arms. ³The Latins mistook these for the veterans, and thinking that the last reserve of the Romans was now engaged, they instantly brought up their own. ⁴The Romans struggled valiantly, but at last were beginning to give way, when at a signal given, the real reserve of the Roman veterans started onwards, advanced through the intervals of the wavering line in front of them, and with loud cheers charged upon the enemy. ⁵Such a shock at such a moment was irresistible; they broke through the whole army of the Latins almost without loss; the battle became a butchery, and according to the usual result of engagements ⁶fought hand to hand, where a broken army can neither fight nor fly, nearly three-fourths of the Latins were killed or taken.—ARNOLD.

¹ 72.² 61, 10.³ 85.⁴ 72.⁵ 89 a.⁶ 59, 3.

CXXIII

In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, ¹an alarm begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we are now in hostility, were not only landed but even entering the city. ²There was in truth some days before great suspicion of those two nations joining; and now, that they had been the occasion of firing the town. ³This report did so terrify, that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that ⁴they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, ⁵without sense or reason. ⁶The clamour and peril grew so excessive that it made the whole court amazed, and they did with infinite pains and great difficulty reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watched all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken.

Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the fright abated, they now began to repair into the suburbs about the city, where such as had friends or opportunity got shelter for the present, to which his majesty's proclamation also invited them.—EVELYN.

¹ 59, 3. ² 86; *et.* ³ 85, 2. ⁴ 59, 3. ⁵ 62. ⁶ 72.

CXXIV

The lieutenant-colonel was a man of the kindest heart, and the most humble familiar deportment in the world, and lived with all his soldiers as if they had been his brothers; ¹ dispensing with that reverence which was due to him, and living cheerful and merry and familiar with them, in such a manner that ² they celebrated him, and professed the highest love for him in the world, and would magnify his humility and kindness, and him for it, in a high degree above his brother. But with all this they grew so presumptuous that, when any obedience was exacted beyond their humours or apprehensions, they would often dare to fail in their duty; ³ whereas the Governor, still keeping a greater distance, though with no more pride, preserved an awe that made him to be ⁴ equally feared and loved, and though they secretly repined at their subjection, yet they durst not refuse it; and, when they came to render it on great occasions, they found such wisdom and such advantage in all his dictates that, their reason being convinced of the benefit of his government, they delighted in it, and accounted it a happiness to be under his command.

Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

¹ 72; 85. ² (78) 'they indeed praised him . . . ; but grew so proud,' etc. ³ 73. ⁴ *idem.*

CXXV

¹ But when the opposing parties approached each other, and citizens were seen arrayed in order of battle against citizens, all shrunk alike from bringing their contests to such an issue,

and with a sudden revulsion of feeling the soldiers, instead of joining battle, ² first welcomed each other with friendly greeting, then as they drew nearer they grasped ³ each other's hands, till at last, amidst mutual tears and expressions of remorse, they rushed into each other's arms. It may well be believed that not Valerius only but the majority of the patricians were noble enough to rejoice sincerely at this ⁴ termination of the mutiny, although they foresaw that whatever were ⁵ the demands of the soldiers, and the commons, it would now be necessary to grant them. But the insurgents were also brought to a softer temper, and asked little but what might have been given them unasked, as being in itself just and reasonable. An act of ⁶ amnesty was passed, and the Dictator entreated the patricians and those of the commons who had sided with them, that they would never, even in private life, in jest or in earnest, reproach any man ⁷ with having been concerned in these unhappy dissensions.—ARNOLD.

¹ 72.² 86.³ 126 b.⁴ 58, 7 or 8.⁵ 61, 10.⁶ *ne fraudi secessio esset.*⁷ 35.

CXXVI

Each day the condition of the besieged was becoming more critical. Great numbers, not merely of the knights and the soldiers, but of the inhabitants had been slain. ¹ The women of the place had shown, throughout the siege, the same heroic spirit as the men. They not only discharged the usual feminine duties of tending the sick, but they were often present in the battle, carrying the ammunition, or removing the wounded to the ² hospital. Thus sharing in the danger of their husbands and fathers, they shared, too, in their fate. Many perished by the enemy's fire; and the dead bodies of women lay mingled among ³ those of the men, on the ramparts and in the streets. ⁴ The ⁵ hospitals were filled with the sick and wounded. Those of the garrison who were still in a condition to do their duty were worn by long vigils and

excessive toil. To fight by day, to raise entrenchments or to repair the ⁶ crumbling works by night, was the hard duty of the soldier. Brief was the respite allowed him for repose—a repose to be broken at any moment by the sound of the alarm-bell, and to be obtained only amidst so wild an uproar that it seemed, in the homely language of a veteran, ‘as if ⁷the world were coming to an end.’—PRESCOTT.

¹ (72) ‘The women too (*mulieres*, or, *oppidanae*), who, as spirited as the men, since the siege began, had not only . . . but also . . ., being made partakers as of their husbands’ danger so of their fate, had many of them been killed by the enemy’s darts, so that their dead bodies . . .’ ² *in tutum* (115). ³ 61, 8; or, 123 b. ⁴ 89 a.

⁵ Simply *aedes medicorum*. ⁶ *labefactus*. ⁷ *ruere caelum*.

ORATORY

CXXVII

¹ My firmest wish is that we may not ² conjure up a spirit to destroy ourselves; nor set the example of what in another country we deplore. Let us cherish the old and venerable laws of our forefathers. Let our judicial administration be strict and pure; and ³ let the jury of the land preserve the life of a fellow-subject, who only asks it from them on the same terms under which they hold their own lives, and all that is dear to them and their posterity for ever. ⁴ Let me repeat the wish with which I began my address to you, and which proceeds from the very bottom of my heart; may it please God, whose providence I am persuaded guides and superintends the transactions of the world, and ⁵ whose guardian spirit has ever hovered over this prosperous island, to direct and fortify your judgments! I am aware I have not committed myself to the unfortunate man who has put his trust in me in the manner I could have wished; yet I am unable to proceed any further—exhausted in spirit and in

strength—but confident in the expectation of justice.—
ERSKINE.

¹ 61, 10. ² 95. ³ 'Let the jury in preserving (43, 3) the life of a citizen . . . , preserve at the same time all that is dear,' etc.
⁴ 'What at the beginning . . . I prayed from the bottom of my heart, that same prayer I again make, that it may please,' etc. ⁵ 94.

CXXVIII

What must be the guilt of those men who can calmly contemplate the approach of anarchy or despotism, and rather choose to behold the ruin of their country than resign ¹ the smallest pittance of private emolument and advantage! To reconcile the disaffected, to remove discontents, to allay animosities, and open a ² prospect of increasing happiness and freedom, is yet in our power. But if ³ a contrary course be taken, ⁴ the sun of Great Britain is set for ever, her glory ⁵ departed, and ⁶ her history added to the catalogue of the mighty empires which exhibit ⁷ the instability of all human grandeur, of empires which, after they rose by virtue to be the admiration of the world, sunk by corruption into obscurity and contempt. If anything shall then remain of her boasted constitution, it will display magnificence in disorder, majestic desolation, ⁸ Babylon in ruins, where, ⁹ in the midst of broken arches and fallen columns, posterity will trace the monuments only of our ancient freedom.

ROBERT HALL, *Apology for Freedom of the Press.*

¹ 104. ² *spes.* ³ 61, 10. ⁴ 94. ⁵ 98. ⁶ 'she will be added to the catalogue of the mighty empires whose records teach that,' etc.
⁷ 58, 8. ^{8, 9} Transform this into a formal simile (99, 2).

CXXIX

¹ My lords, these are, I believe, the general ² grounds of our charge.—I have now closed completely, and I hope to your lordships' satisfaction, the whole body of history, of which I

wished to put your lordships in possession. ³ I do not mean that many of your lordships may not have known it more perfectly by your own previous inquiries; but bringing to your remembrance the state of the circumstances of the persons with whom he acted, the persons and power he has abused, I have gone to the principles he maintains, the ⁴ precedents he quotes, the laws and authorities which he ⁵ refuses to abide by, and those on which he relies; and at last I have refuted all those pleas in bar, on which he depends, ⁶ and for ⁷ the effect of which he presumes on the ⁸ indulgence and patience of the ⁹ country, or on the corruption of some persons in it. And here I close what I had to say on the subject; ¹⁰ wishing and hoping that, when I open before your lordships the case more particularly, so as to state rather a plan of the proceedings than the direct proof of the crimes, your lordships will hear me with the same goodness and indulgence I have hitherto experienced; that you will consider, ¹¹ if I have detained you too long, it was not with a view of exhausting my own strength, or putting your patience to too severe a trial; but from the sense I feel that it is the most difficult and the most complicated cause that was ever brought before any human tribunal.—BURKE.

¹ *Habetis iudices* . . . ² 'the things which we accuse.' ³ (78, 1) *Et potuerunt quidem* . . . : *ego, memoratis* (p. part.), etc. ⁴ *exempla.* ⁵ 77 b. ⁶ 68. ⁷ 'which seem to be strong in this, that he thinks,' etc. ⁸ 58, 7. ⁹ 58, 4. ¹⁰ 'And—what I pray and hope may be the case—may your lordships,' etc. ¹¹ 'that I have not been long, if indeed I seem to you to have been so, for the purpose of exhausting,' etc. (30).

CXXX

¹ Let not him suffer under vague expositions of tyrannical laws more tyrannically executed. ² Let not him be hurried away to pre-doomed execution, from an honest enthusiasm for the public safety. I ask for him a trial by this applauded constitution of our country; I call upon you to administer the

law to him according to our own wholesome institutions, by its strict and rigid letter. However you may eventually disapprove of any part of his misconduct, or viewing it ³ through a false medium, may think it even wicked, I claim for him as a subject of England that the law shall decide upon ⁴ its criminal denomination. ⁵ I protest in his name against all speculations respecting ⁶ consequences when the law commands us to look only to ⁶ intentions. If the State be threatened with evils, let Parliament ⁷ administer a prospective remedy ; but let the prisoner hold his life under the law. Gentlemen, I ask this solemnly of the ⁸ court, whose justice I am persuaded will afford it to me ; I ask it more emphatically of you, the jury, who ⁹ are called upon by your oaths to make a true deliverance of your countryman from this charge ; but lastly and chiefly, I implore it of Him in ¹⁰ whose hands are all the issues of life.—ERSKINE.

¹ ' Let it not hurt him (*iste* or *ille*) that tyrannical (*iniquus*, *malignus*) laws, too little accurately interpreted, have been more tyrannically executed ' (or, ' a more tyrannical power has put into execution ').

² *Neu, quia studebis* (35) . . . , *idcirco rapiatur*, etc. ³ (94) or, *opinionis errore*. ⁴ 58, 8. ⁵ *deprecor*. ⁶ (77 b) : ' intentions,' *quid ipse voluerit*.

⁷ *his medeatur in futurum* (94). ⁸ Perhaps *praetor*.

⁹ *iurati sedetis*. ¹⁰ *penes*.

CXXXI

¹ But shall the preposterous imagination be fostered, that Englishmen, bred in liberty, the first of human kind who asserted the glorious distinction of forming for themselves their social compact, can be condemned to silence upon their rights ? Is it to be conceived that men who have enjoyed for such a length of days the light and happiness of freedom, can be restrained and shut up again in ² the gloom of ignorance and degradation ? ³ As well, sir, might you try, by a miserable dam, to shut up the flowing of a rapid river : the rolling and impetuous tide would burst through every impediment that man might throw in its way, and the only

consequence of the impotent attempt would be that, having collected new force by its temporary suspension, enforcing itself through new channels, it would ⁴spread devastation and ruin on every side. The progress of liberty is like the progress of the stream; it may be kept within its banks; it is sure to fertilise the country through which it runs; but no power can arrest it in its passage; and ⁵short-sighted as well as wicked must be the heart of the projector that would strive to divert its course.—FOX.

¹ (84, 6) 'But, O preposterous opinion! is it to be maintained . . . ?'
² 93. ³ Try throwing this into the form of a simile (91; 99, 2): 'As, if by a miserable dam you have shut up (49) . . . , the rolling and impetuous tide bursts, . . . so the stream of liberty, if it is kept,' etc.
⁴ *ire vastatum* (supine). ⁵ *minime prospiciens*; but this will not be appropriately attributed to 'heart.'

CXXXII

Now, my lords, ¹in examining the question, ²you must proceed by the ordinary rule of construction, applicable alike to every statute; ³that of expounding it by the usual acceptation and natural context of the words in which it is conceived. Do the words then, my lords, or the natural context of this act, describe ⁴a limited power of rejecting only for cause to be assigned, or a peremptory power of rejecting without any such cause? ⁵Says the act: 'If it shall happen that the Commons shall reject or disapprove.' ⁶The law describes this accidental rejection in language most clearly applicable to the acts of men assembled, not as judges, but as electors, not to judge by laws which they have never learned, but to indulge their affections, or their caprice; ⁷and therefore justly speaks of a rejection, not the result of judgment but of chance.—CURRAN.

¹ 43, 3. ² 'you must interpret the law,' etc. ³ (90, 1) 'you must explain it,' etc. ⁴ 58, 8, or 59. ⁵ Omit, if you wish, 'says the act.' ⁶ 'It mentions expressly a chance rejection as though of men,' etc. ⁷ 'and so it says rightly, not 'if after inquiry made,' but 'if by chance.'

CXXXIII

Gentlemen, let me suggest another ¹ observation or two, if still you have any doubt, ² as to the guilt or innocence of the defendant. Give me leave to suggest to you what circumstances you ought to consider in order to found your verdict. You should consider ³ the character of the person accused; and ⁴ in this your task is easy. ⁵ I will venture to say, there is not a man in this nation more known than the gentleman who is the subject of this prosecution, not only ⁶ by the part he has taken in public concerns, and which he has taken in common with many, but still more so by that extraordinary ⁷ sympathy for human affliction which, I am sorry to think, he shares with ⁸ so small a number. ⁹ Is this the man likely to apostatise from every principle that can bind him to the state; his birth, his property, his education, his character, and his children? Let me tell you, gentlemen of the jury, ¹⁰ if you agree with his prosecutors in thinking that there ought to be ¹¹ a sacrifice of such a man, never can you give a sentence consigning any man to public punishment with less danger to his ¹² person or his fame, for where could the ¹³ hireling be found to fling contumely or ingratitude at his head, whose private distresses he had not laboured to alleviate, or whose public condition he had not laboured to improve?—CURRAN.

¹ 61, 10. ² 13; 58, 8. ³ *vita et mores*. ⁴ 73; 85, 2. ⁵ 61, 12.
⁶ 58, 8. ⁷ Employ *dolor* (103) in some combination. ⁸ Use *quota pars*.
⁹ 61, 16. ¹⁰ *si eadem sentitis quae*. ¹¹ Perhaps *iactura*.
¹² *ipsius*. ¹³ *mercede conductus*.

CXXXIV

¹ The importance of this case is ² not susceptible of exaggeration, and I do not speak in the language of hyperbole when I say that the attention of the empire is directed to the

spot in which we are assembled. ³How great is the trust reposed in you—how great is the task which I have undertaken to perform! Conscious of its magnitude, I have risen to address you ⁴not unmoved, but undismayed; ⁵no, not unmoved—for at [this moment how many incidents of my own political life come back ⁶upon me, when I look upon my great political benefactor, my deliverer, and my friend! ⁷but of the emotion by which I acknowledge myself to be profoundly stirred, although I will not permit myself to be subdued by it, solicitude forms no part. I have great reliance upon you—upon the ascendancy of principle over prejudice in your minds; and I am not entirely without reliance upon myself. ⁸I do not ⁹speak in the language of vain-glorious self-complacency when I say this. I know that I am surrounded by men infinitely superior to me in every forensic, and in almost every intellectual, qualification. My confidence is derived, ¹⁰not from any overweening estimate of my own faculties, but from a thorough conviction of the innocence of my client. I know—and ¹¹I appear in some sort not only as an advocate, but a witness, before you—I know him to be innocent of the misdeeds laid to his charge.—
NEIL *pro* O'CONNELL.

¹ 59. ² (58) 'cannot be exaggerated.' ³ 61, 16. ⁴ 78, 4.
⁵ 'not unmoved, I say.' ⁶ 60, 5. ⁷ 'But while (78) I confess that I am profoundly stirred in mind, in such a way, however, that (23) I am not at the same time overwhelmed; there is no place for dismay': translate 'dismay' by a word of the same derivation as that employed for 'undismayed' above. ⁸ 67; 85, 2. ⁹ 'use boasting, proud words.' ¹⁰ 35; 58, 8. ¹¹ *adsum enim*.

CXXXV

¹There are a variety of topics, as your lordships well know, to which I have not even alluded, ²and on some of which I should certainly be disposed to say a few words; but, in truth, I have already abused your indulgence, not only much too long, but, I am conscious, also, much too tediously;

and I therefore refrain—very grateful for having been permitted to state such reasons as have satisfied ³ my mind on the whole matter, that this measure is expedient in itself, and that Parliament is competent to execute it. I have ⁴ expressed a strong opinion that ⁵ the union of these two nations, already united by nature in their interests, must, in the order of human events, necessarily come to pass ; ⁶ and I shall conclude by a sincere and fervent prayer, dictated by the purest and the most ardent desire for the happiness of both kingdoms, that the blessings sure to flow from a consummation so devoutly to be wished may not be long delayed.

LORD MINTO.

¹ 78. ² 68. ³ 'me looking at the whole matter.' ⁴ 61, 10.
⁵ (77 b, c) 'these two nations already joined by interest (*commodis*) will . . . be joined by laws.' ⁶ 'And—what finally I . . . pray, influenced by . . . , —may the blessings,' etc.

CXXXVI

¹ Can any man seriously contemplate the course of events which brought that monarchy to ruin, without trembling at the consequences of a too obsequious subservience to temporary popularity ? ² without perceiving ³ how easy and how dangerous is the mistake of sacrificing the interest of a whole community to the clamours of a discontented few ? Let not, then, the lessons of the French revolution be lost upon ⁴ us ! When our ears are assailed by clamour for change, let us not be unmindful of the silent apprehensions, the confiding patience, of that large portion of the community whom these clamours distract and appal ! Let us not mistake their silence for acquiescence, nor their confidence for carelessness ! ⁵ The feeling of alarm is deep, and general, and just. The persons whose machinations are the subject of this debate are ⁶ valueless as motes in the sunbeam, compared with the loyal, quiet, un murmuring millions who ⁷ look up to Parliament for protection. Let them not ⁸ look up to you in vain ! Let not the claims and the welfare of those millions—of the loyal

and the good, of the peaceful and the pious—be disregarded by the House in deliberating upon the measures which are necessary for the safety of the country.—CANNING.

¹ 'Can any one, having contemplated . . . , not tremble at what awaits (those) serving,' etc. (58). ² 'Can any one not see,' etc. ³ 'how easily and with how much risk the interests . . . are sacrificed,' etc. ⁴ Place this early in the clause (61, 16; 63, 1). ⁵ *Est summa omnium . . . trepidatio.* ⁶ 95. ⁷ *respicio.* ⁸ 60, 13.

CXXXVII

No, you cannot ¹ for a moment question the honest sincerity with which I have ever advocated that glorious principle, the advocating of which was the pride of my ² youth, the glory of my manhood, and the comfort of my declining years. It is utterly impossible for you to believe that after having been so successful in my endeavour to obtain popular rights by means purely consistent with justice, humanity, the law, and the constitution, I could now ³ fling to the winds every principle of my bygone life, and ⁴ assume the character and play the part of a conspirator. ⁵ It has been frequently alleged against me by my enemies that I am a man ⁶ who would sacrifice principle to popularity. How stands the fact? I came forward, I opposed the combinations publicly, single-handed, ⁷ and opposed them ⁸ at the peril, not only of my popularity, but of my very existence. The fact is notorious in Dublin. At the meeting in the Exchange the operatives were infuriated against me, and I owed the preservation of my life to the police. But it was my duty to oppose the combination, and I did not shrink from it. ⁹ It was my duty to do it—I did not shrink from it. I persevered in it; and what occurred? I persuaded those who had been most ferocious against me, and from that day to this not a single combination outrage has occurred in Dublin.—DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ 'You cannot, you cannot even for a moment,' etc. (84, 1). ² 58, 1. ³ 93. ⁴ 93. ⁵ 'But (*At*: 86)—for many of my enemies have said this—I am,' etc. ⁶ 25. ⁷ 124. ⁸ 63, 1. ⁹ Insert, *inquam*.

CXXXVIII

¹ Barren as this age may be in the growth of honour and virtue, the country does not want, at this moment, as strong, and those not a few, examples as were ever known of an unshaken ² adherence to principles, and ³ attachment to connexion, against every allurement of interest. Those examples are not furnished by the great alone; nor by those whose activity in public affairs may render ⁴ it suspected that they make such character one of the ⁵ rounds in their ladder of ambition; but by men more quiet, and more ⁶ in the shade, on whom an unmixed sense of honour alone could operate. Such examples, indeed, are not furnished in great abundance amongst those who are the subjects of the author's panegyric. He must look for them in another camp. ⁷ He who complains of the ill effect of a divided and heterogeneous administration is not justifiable in labouring to render odious ⁸ in the eyes of the public those men, whose principles, whose maxims of policy, and whose ⁹ personal character, can alone ¹⁰ administer a remedy to this capital evil of the age; neither is he consistent with himself in constantly extolling those whom he knows to be the authors of the very mischief of which he complains, ¹¹ and which the whole nation feels so deeply.—BURKE.

¹ 47. ^{2,3} Perhaps *constantia* . . . *fides*, with or without suitable attributes. ⁴ 58, 10; 130, 5. ⁵ 94. ⁶ 93; 115. ⁷ 85. ⁸ 96.
⁹ 122 b. ¹⁰ 94. ¹¹ 68.

CXXXIX

¹ The persons who are the objects of his dislike and complaint are, many of them, of the first families and weightiest properties in the kingdom; but infinitely more distinguished for their untainted honour, public and private, and their zealous but sober attachment to the constitution of their country, than they can be by any birth, or any station.

²If they are the friends of any one great man rather than another, it is not that they make his aggrandisement the end of their union ; or because they know him to be the most active in caballing for his connections the largest and speediest emoluments. It is because they know him, by personal experience, to have wise and enlarged ³ideas of the public good, and an invincible constancy in adhering to it ; because they are convinced, by the whole tenor of his actions, that he will never negotiate away their honour or his own, and that, in or out of power, change of situation will make no alteration in his conduct. ⁴This will give to such a person in such a body an authority and respect that no minister ever enjoyed among his venal dependants, in the highest plenitude of his power ; such as ⁵servility never can give, such as ambition never can receive or relish.—BURKE.

¹ *Quos culpat et odit, sunt illi quidem* (78) *ex locupletissimis* . . .

² 'They are friends to a great man, if indeed they are friends . . . , not because . . . , but because (35) . . . ' ³ *reipublicae consulere* (58, 7).

⁴ 'To this man, therefore, so much authority and respect will be allowed (*tribuo*) by the good (113) as never to any minister by his venal dependants,' etc. ⁵ 59.

CXL

All this ¹is most true ; but what does all this prove ? What ²but that eternal and unalterable truth which has always presented itself to my mind, in whatever way I have viewed the subject, namely, that a long-established despotism so far degrades and debases human nature, as to render its subjects, ³on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them ; but never have I, or will I meet but with reprobation, ⁴that mode of argument which goes, in fact, to establish as an inference from this truth, that those who have been long slaves ought to remain ⁵so for ever ! ⁶No ; the lesson ought to be, I repeat again, ⁷a tenfold horror of that despotic form of government which has so profaned and changed the nature

of civilised man, and a still more jealous apprehension of any system tending to withhold the rights and liberties of our fellow-creatures. Such a form of government may be considered as twice cursed : ⁸ while it exists, it is solely responsible for the miseries and calamities of its subjects ; ⁹ and should a day of retribution come, and the tyranny be destroyed, it is equally to be charged with all the enormities which the folly or frenzy of those who overturn it may commit.

SHERIDAN.

¹ Put *Est* first. ² *nisi illud ipsum* (61, 10) *quod semper . . . habui*, etc. ³ (58, 8) *cum primum*. ⁴ (58, 10) *eius modi argumenta quibus . . . demonstretur*, or 'those arguing that,' etc. ⁵ 61 ; 63, 4. ⁶ 87. ⁷ 58, 7 ; 129. ⁸ 85, 2. ⁹ 90, 2.

CXLI

Since Lord George Gordon stands clear of every hostile act or purpose against the legislature of his country, or the rights of his fellow-subjects ; since ¹ the whole tenour of his conduct ² repels the belief of the traitorous intentions charged in this indictment, my task is finished. ³ I shall make no address to your passions. ³ I will not remind you of the long and rigorous imprisonment he has suffered ; ³ I will not speak to you of his great youth, of his illustrious birth, or of his uniformly animated and generous zeal in Parliament for the constitution of his country. ⁴ Such topics might be useful in the balance of a doubtful case. At present, the plain and rigid rules of justice and truth are sufficient to entitle me to your verdict : ⁵ and may God Almighty, who is the sacred author of both, fill your minds with the deepest impression of them, and with virtue to follow those impressions ! You will then ⁶ restore my innocent client to liberty, and me to that peace of mind, which, ⁷ since ⁸ the protection of his innocence in any part depended upon me, I have never known.—ERSKINE.

¹ *tota hominis vita*. ² 20. ³ 61, 12. ⁴ 78. ⁵ 'of which, if the gods . . . shall have filled your minds with the deepest impression . . . , you will restore (67 ; 72),' etc. ⁶ 'give back liberty to.' ⁷ 44. ⁸ 58, 8.

CXLII

If you can say upon the evidence that he is guilty of that base and detestable intention to destroy the king, it is your duty to say so, and you may, with a tranquil conscience, return to your families, though by your judgment the unhappy ¹ object of it must return no more to his. Alas! gentlemen, what do I say? He has no family to return to; the affectionate partner of his life has already ² fallen a victim to the surprise and horror which attended ³ the scene now transacting. But let that melancholy reflection pass—it should not, perhaps, have been introduced—it certainly ought to have no weight with you, who are to judge upon your oaths. ⁴ I do not stand here to desire you to commit perjury ⁵ from compassion; but, at the same time, my earnestness may be forgiven, since it ⁶ proceeds from a weakness common to us all. I claim no merit with the prisoner for my zeal; it proceeds from a selfish principle inherent in the human heart. I am counsel, gentlemen, for myself. ⁷ In every word I utter, I feel that I am pleading for the safety of my own life, for the lives of my children after me, for the happiness of my country, and for the universal condition of civil society ⁸ throughout the world.—ERSKINE.

¹ *reus*. ² 96. ³ *hæc res* (103, 1). ⁴ *huc ascendi*. ⁵ 60, 10.
⁶ 98. ⁷ 45. ⁸ *ubique* (122 a, 2).

CXLIII

To complain of the age we live in, to murmur at the present possessors of power, to ¹ lament the past, ² to conceive extravagant hopes of the future, ³ are the common dispositions of the greatest part of mankind; indeed, the necessary effects of the ignorance and levity of the vulgar. ⁴ Such complaints and humours have existed in all times; yet as all times have not been alike, ⁵ true political sagacity manifests itself in

distinguishing that complaint which only characterises the general infirmity of human nature, from those which are the symptoms of the particular ⁶ distemperature of our own air and season. ⁷ Nobody, I believe, will consider it merely as the language of spleen or disappointment, if I say that there is something peculiarly alarming in the present conjuncture. There is hardly a man, in or out of power, ⁸ who holds any other language, ⁹ That government is at once dreaded and condemned ; that the laws are despoiled of all their respected and salutary terrors ; that their inaction is a subject of ridicule, and their exertion of abhorrence ; that rank and office, and title, and all the solemn plausibilities of the world, have lost their reverence and effect ; that our ¹⁰ foreign politics are as much deranged as our ¹¹ domestic economy ; that our dependencies are slackened in their affection, and loosened from their obedience ; that we know neither how to yield nor how to enforce ; that hardly anything ¹² above or below, abroad or at home, is sound and entire ; but that disconnexion and confusion, in offices, in parties, in families, in parliament, in the nation, prevail beyond the disorders of any former time : ¹³ these are facts universally admitted and lamented.—BURKE.

¹ 2 ; 58, 3 ; 78. ² 116. ³ 61, 10 ; or translate literally. ⁴ 72.
⁵ 58, 3. ⁶ 93. ⁷ 85. ⁸ 26. ⁹ 89 c. ^{10, 11} Use adverbs. ¹² 90, 2.
¹³ ' These (facts), I say, there is no one but, ' etc.

CXLIV

My lords, I should be ashamed, if at this moment I attempted to use any sort of ¹ rhetorical blandishments whatever. Such artifices would neither be suitable to the body that I represent, to the cause which I sustain, or to my own individual disposition upon such an occasion. My lords, we know very well what these fallacious blandishments too frequently are. We know that they are used to captivate the benevolence of the court, and to conciliate the affections of the tribunal rather to the person than to the cause. ² We

know that they are used to ³ stifle the remonstrances of conscience in the judge, and to reconcile it to the violation of his duty. We likewise know that they are too often used ⁴ in great and important causes (and more particularly in causes like this) ⁵ to reconcile the prosecutor to the powerful factions of a protected criminal, and to the injury of those who have suffered by his crimes; ⁵ thus inducing all parties to separate in a kind of good humour, as if they had nothing more than a ⁶ verbal dispute to settle, or a slight ⁷ quarrel over a table to compromise. All this may now be done at the expense of the persons whose cause we pretend to espouse. We may all part, my lords, with the most perfect complacency and entire good humour towards one another; while nations, ⁸ whole suffering nations, are left to beat the empty air with cries ⁹ of misery and anguish, and to cast forth to an offended heaven the imprecations ⁹ of disappointment and despair.—BURKE.

¹ 58, 6; 122 a, 1 b. ² Omit these words, simply repeating the *ut*.

³ 95. ⁴ *in magnis gravibusque et huiusmodi potissimum causis.* ⁵ 72.

⁶ 58, 6; 122 a, 1 b. ⁷ *convivarum rixae.* ⁸ 122 b. ⁹ 58, 5.

CXLV

I wish to save your lordships' time, or I could show you, in the life of this prince, that he, violent as his conquests were, ¹ bloody as all conquests are, yet knew how to govern his unjust ² acquisitions with equity and moderation. If any man could be entitled to claim arbitrary power, ³ if such a claim could be justified by extent of conquest, by splendid personal qualities, by great learning and eloquence, Tamerlane ⁴ was the man who could have made and justified the claim. This ⁵ prince gave up all his time, not employed in conquests, to the conversation of learned men. He gave himself to all studies that might accomplish a great man. ⁶ Such a man I say might, if any may, claim arbitrary power. But the very things that made him great, made him sensible that he was but a man. ⁷ Even in the midst of all his conquests, his tone

was a tone of humility ; he spoke of laws, as every man must who knows what laws are ; and though he was proud, ferocious, and violent in the achievement of his conquests, ⁸ I will venture to say no prince ever established institutes of civil government more honourable to himself, than the Institutes of Timour.—BURKE.

¹ 'which, indeed, are all bloody.' ² 77 b, c ; 116. ³ 68.
⁴ 61, 16 ; 63. ⁵ 129 b. ⁶ 78. ⁷ 85, or, 90, 1. ⁸ 61, 12.

CXLVI

¹ My lords, judge, I pray you, ² whether the House of Commons, when they had read the account which Mr. Hastings has himself given of the dreadful consequences of his proceedings, would not have shown themselves unworthy ³ to represent not only the commons of Great Britain, but the meanest village in it, if they had not brought this great criminal before you, and called upon your lordships to punish him. ⁴ This ruined country, its desolate fields, and its undone inhabitants, all call aloud for British justice ; all call for vengeance upon the head of this venerable criminal.

⁵ Oh ! but we ought to be tender towards his personal character ; extremely cautious in our speech ; we ought not to let our indignation loose. My lords, we do let our indignation loose, we cannot bear with patience this affliction of mankind. We will neither abate our energy, relax in our feelings, nor in the expressions which those feelings ⁶ dictate. ⁷ Nothing but corruption like his own could enable any man to see such a scene of desolation and ruin unmoved. We feel pity for the works of God and man ; we feel horror for the ⁸ debasement of human nature, and ⁹ feeling thus, we give a loose to our indignation, and call upon your lordships for justice.—BURKE.

¹ 72. ² 12. ³ The idea is not a Roman one : try *praeesse*, and substitute a corresponding contrast, e.g. 'Roman senate,' 'municipal assembly.' ⁴ 84, 2. ⁵ 86 ; *At.* ⁶ 96. ⁷ 'No one unless corrupt like him,' 58. ⁸ 59, 1. ⁹ *Itaque* ; or combine with previous sentence and omit 'feeling thus' : 'We feeling pity . . . , giving a loose . . . , call,' etc.

CXLVII

If, gentlemen, I could entertain a hope of finding refuge for the ¹disconcertion of my mind in the perfect composure of yours; if I could suppose that these awful vicissitudes of human events, which have been stated or alluded to, could leave ²your judgments undisturbed, and your hearts at ease, I know I should ³form a most erroneous opinion of your character. ⁴I entertain no such chimerical hope; I form no such unworthy opinion; I expect not that your hearts can be more at ease than my own; I have no right to expect it; but I have a right to call upon you, in the name of your country, in the name of the living God, of whose eternal justice you are now administering that portion which dwells with us on this side of the grave, to discharge your breasts as far as you are able, of every bias of prejudice or passion; that, if my client be guilty of the offence charged upon him, ⁵you may give tranquillity to the public ⁶by a firm verdict of conviction; or, if he be innocent, ⁷by as firm a verdict of acquittal; and that you will do this ⁸in defiance of the paltry artifices and senseless clamours that have been resorted to, in order to bring him to his trial ⁹with anticipated conviction.—CURRAN.

¹ 77 c. ² 77 b. ³ 61, 10. ⁴ 77 a. ⁵ Reserve this to the end of the period. ⁶ *fortiter condemnando*. ⁷ *idem*. ⁸ *part. of contemno*.
⁹ *præiudicatus*, or *præiudiciis iam domi factis*.

CXLVIII

¹ You may make the change tedious; you may make it violent; you may—God in his mercy forbid!—you may make it bloody; but avert it you cannot. ² Agitations of the public mind, so deep and so long continued as those which we have witnessed, do not end in nothing. ³ In peace or in convulsion, by the law, or in spite of the law, through the Parliament, or over the Parliament, Reform must be carried. ⁴ Therefore be content to guide that movement which you cannot stop.

Fling wide the gates to that force which else will enter through the breach. Then will it still be, as it has hitherto been, the peculiar glory of our Constitution that, though not exempt from the decay which is wrought by the vicissitudes of fortune and the lapse of time, in all the proudest works ⁵ of human power and wisdom, it yet contains within it ⁶ the means of self-reparation. Then will England add to her manifold titles of glory this, the noblest and the purest of all; ⁷ that every blessing which other nations have been forced to seek, and have too often sought in vain, by means of violent and bloody revolutions, she will have attained by a peaceful and lawful Reform.—MACAULAY.

¹ 'This change you may make tedious (*potes efficere ut sit longa, ut . . . , ut (quod di prohibeant)* . . . , avert you cannot' (78, 5). ² (85) *Neque enim.* ³ 90, 2. ⁴ 66, 5. ⁵ 59, 1. ⁶ 61, 10. ⁷ 66, 5.

CXLIX

¹ Sir, there is no reaction; and there will be no reaction. All that has been said on this subject convinces me only that those who are now, for the second time, ² raising this cry, know nothing of the crisis in which they are called on to act, or of the nation which they aspire to govern. All their opinions respecting this bill are founded on one great error. They imagine that the public feeling concerning Reform is a mere whim which ³ sprang up suddenly out of nothing, and which will as suddenly ³ vanish into nothing. They, therefore, confidently expect a reaction. They are always looking out ⁴ for a reaction. Everything that they see, or that they hear, they construe into a sign of the approach of ⁴ this reaction. They resemble ⁵ the man in Horace, who lies on the bank of the river, expecting that it will every moment ⁶ pass by and leave him a clear passage, not knowing the depth and abundance of the fountain which

feeds it, not knowing that it flows, and will flow on for ever.
—MACAULAY.

¹ *Nec . . . nec* : for 'reaction' try *res retrofluunt*. ² (61, 10) *qui iterum hoc clamitent*. ³ 98. ⁴ *Hoc* : *Huius* (at the beginning of the sentences). ⁵ *rusticus*. ⁶ *defluo*.

CL

¹ There were undoubtedly those who desired to plunge this country into the difficulties of war, partly from the hope that those difficulties would overwhelm the administration ; but it would be most unjust not to admit that there were others who were actuated by nobler principles and more generous feelings, who would have rushed forward at once from the sense of indignation at oppression, ² and who deemed that no ³ act of injustice could be perpetrated from ⁴ one end of the universe to the other, but that ⁵ the sword of Great Britain should leap from its scabbard to avenge it. But as ⁶ it is the province of law to control the excess even of ⁷ laudable passions and propensities of individuals, so it is the duty of ⁸ government ⁹ to restrain within due bounds the ebullition of national sentiment, and to regulate the course and direction of impulse which it cannot blame. Is there any one among ¹⁰ the latter class of persons who continues to doubt whether the government did wisely ¹¹ in declining to obey the precipitate enthusiasm which prevailed at the commencement of the contest with Spain ? Is there anybody who does not now think that it ¹² was the office of government to consider ¹³ whether they were called upon to assist a united nation, or to plunge themselves into the internal feuds by which that nation was divided ?—CANNING.

¹ 78. ² 68. ³ Omit 'act of.' ⁴ *usquam*, associated with the negative, or, *in orbe terrarum*. ⁵ Make the subject personal (58), or the construction passive. ⁶ *legum est* (61, 10). ⁷ 118. ⁸ *magistratum* (58). ⁹ 'to restrain the passions of the citizens (122 a, 1 b) from (20),' etc. ¹⁰ *hi*. ¹¹ 43. ¹² 56. ¹³ 13.

CLI

Every nation has in its turn been the witness, many have been the victims, of this government's principles, and it is left for us to decide, ¹ whether we will compromise with such a danger, while we have yet resources ² to supply the sinews of war, while ³ the heart and spirit of the country is yet unbroken, and while we have the means of calling forth and supporting a powerful co-operation in Europe.

⁴ Much more might be said on this part of the subject; but if what I have said already is a faithful, though only an imperfect ⁵ sketch of those excesses and outrages, which even ⁶ history itself will hereafter be unable fully to represent and record, and a just representation of the principle and source from which they ⁷ originated; will any man say that we ought to accept ⁸ a precarious security against so tremendous a danger? ⁹ Much more will he pretend, after the experience of all that has passed, that we ought to be deterred from ¹⁰ probing this great question to the bottom, and from examining, without ceremony or disguise, whether the change which has recently taken place in France is sufficient now to give security, not against a ¹¹ common danger, but against such a danger as that which I have described?—PITT.

¹ 12. ² 94; or, *usum belli supplere*. ³ 93. ⁴ 78. ⁵ 94.
⁶ 58, 3; or, *historiae fides*. ⁷ 98. ⁸ 93, or 97. ⁹ 31. ¹⁰ 95, or 97.
¹¹ *usitatus*.

CLII

The right honourable gentleman, not contented with apostatising from the principles which he once professed, has resisted them ¹ in a spirit and language of the loftiest pride and arrogance. In his humiliation and disgrace unfortunately this once mighty nation has also been humbled and disgraced.

² The cause of reform was to be, at all events, put down, and

all who maintained it were to be ³ stigmatised, persecuted, and oppressed. Here is the clue to every measure of government, from the hour of the right honourable gentleman's apostasy to the present. But the insolence with which the hopeful changes of the ⁴ rising world were denounced within these walls is an awful ⁵ lesson to mankind. It has taught that there is an ⁶ arm fighting against the oppressors of freedom, stronger than any arm of flesh, and that the great progressions of the world, in spite of the confederacies of ⁷ power, and the conspiracies of corruption, move on with steady pace, and arrive in the end at a happy and glorious consummation.—ERSKINE.

¹ 'with the proudest and most arrogant spirit (*sententiae*) and words.'
² (72) 'That the cause of reform might be put down . . . , this every measure of government was aiming at, since (45) the right honourable,' etc. ³ *ignominia notari*. ⁴ 98. ⁵ *exemplum quo moneantur* (60, 4) *homines*. ⁶ *plusquam humana vis*. ⁷ 58, 5.

CLIII

Sir, I have done. I have given my advice. I propose ¹ the remedy, ² and fatal will it be for England if pride and prejudice much longer continue to oppose it. ³ The remedy which is proposed is simple, easy, and practicable; it does not touch ⁴ the vitals of the constitution; and I sincerely believe it will restore us to peace and harmony. Do you not think that you must come to parliamentary reform soon? and is it not better to come to it now when you have the power of deliberation, than when, perhaps, it may be extorted from you by convulsion? ⁵ There is as yet time to frame it with freedom and discussion; it will even yet go to the people with the grace and favour of a spontaneous act. What will it be when it is extorted from you with indignation and violence? ⁶ God forbid that this should be the case! but now is the moment to prevent it; and now, I say, wisdom and policy

recommend it you, when you may enter into all the considerations to which it leads, rather than to postpone it to a time when you will have nothing to consider but the number and the force of those who demand it.—FOX.

¹ 93. ² 67. ³ 61, 16. ⁴ 93. ⁵ 89 b. ⁶ This prayer may be inserted in the previous sentence : *quod di prohibeant*.

CLIV

¹ But it will be said that the plans and views of a governor-general, however proper and judicious, may be thwarted and defeated by factious opposition, and by divisions in the council. ² To this I say, that *prima facie*, a governor is just as likely to be a factious man and to have bad intentions, as any given member of the council. ³ Nay, ⁴ the presumption is against him in proportion to the superiority of his rank and influence. ⁵ The elevation of power is apt to make men giddy; and the exercise of it, I fear, has no direct tendency to improve their morality. ⁶ Let it be admitted, nevertheless, that a majority of the council is most likely to be in fault, and that they thwart the governor-general on factious principles, and for interested purposes of their own. ⁷ If that should really happen, take care that you fix the blame ⁸ where you ought to fix it. ⁹ If you do not, you are unjust in the first instance, and that injustice will mislead you in the subsequent choice of your measures. Before you ¹⁰ apply a remedy against faction, take care that you distinguish between the merit of the institution itself, and that of the persons who are appointed to fill it up.—PHILIP FRANCIS.

^{1, 2} (86) *At*. ³ *Immo vero*. ⁴ Translate so as to harmonise with preceding sentence : e.g. ‘Nay, by how much he is superior . . . , by so much the more easily.’ ⁵ 94 (*fastigium*); 73. ⁶ ‘But let it be so (*Verum esto*); let the majority . . . ; let them thwart . . .’ ⁷ *Si fuerit hoc*. ⁸ 66, 5. ⁹ 67; 85, 2 : *Quod nisi feceritis*, 60, 13. ¹⁰ 94.



CLV

¹ But supposing the confederacy of Europe prematurely dissolved; supposing our armies disbanded, our fleets laid up in our harbours, our exertions relaxed, and our means of precaution and defence relinquished; ² do we believe that the revolutionary power, with this rest and breathing time given it to recover from the pressure under which it is now sinking, possessing still the means of calling suddenly and violently into action ³ whatever is the remaining physical force of France, ⁴ under the guidance of military despotism; ⁵ do we believe that this revolutionary power, the terror of which is now beginning to vanish, will not again prove formidable to Europe? ⁶ Can we forget, that in the ten years in which that power has subsisted, it has brought more misery on surrounding nations, ⁷ and produced more acts of aggression, cruelty, perfidy, and enormous ambition than can be traced in the history of France for the centuries which have elapsed ⁸ since the foundation of its ⁹ monarchy.—PITT.

¹ *Verum esto*: let the confederacy have been dissolved, etc.

² *Quid? Num credimus . . . ?* ³ *quicquid virium reliquum est.*

⁴ 58, 2. ⁵ *Num, inquam, credimus . . . ?* ⁶ *An.* ⁷ 61, 10, 13.

⁸ 44. ⁹ 58.

CLVI

¹ All the topics which have so often misled us,—all the reasoning which has so invariably failed—all the lofty predictions which have so constantly been falsified by events—all the hopes which have amused the sanguine, and all the assurances of the distress and weakness of the enemy which have satisfied the unthinking, are again enumerated and advanced as arguments for our continuing the war. What! at the end of seven years of the most burthensome and the most calamitous struggle ² that ever this country was engaged in, are we again to be amused with notions of finance and calculations of the exhausted resources of the enemy, as a

ground of confidence and of hope? Gracious God! Were we not told, five years ago, that France was not only on the brink and in the ³jaws of ruin, but that she was actually sunk into the ⁴gulf of bankruptcy?—FOX.

¹ 'What! those topics which have so often misled us—those arguments . . . are they again being enumerated and advanced that we may be persuaded to continue the war? Are we again . . . to be amused (subj.),' etc. ² 64. ³ 95. ⁴ 93.

CLVII

¹ When we were told, as an unanswerable argument against treating, 'that she could not hold out another campaign—that nothing but peace could save her—that she wanted only time to recruit her exhausted finances—that to grant her repose, was to grant her ²the means of again molesting this country, and that we had nothing to do but persevere for a short time, in order to save ourselves for ever from the consequences of her ambition!'—What! after having gone on from year to year upon assurances like these, and after having seen the repeated ³refutations of every prediction, are we again to be gravely and seriously told, that we have the same prospect of success on the same identical grounds? And without any other argument or security, are we invited, at this new era of the war, to carry on the war upon principles which, if adopted and acted upon, may make it eternal? If the right honourable gentleman shall succeed in prevailing on parliament and the country to adopt the principles which he has advanced this night, I see ⁴no possible termination to the contest. No man can see an end to it; and upon the assurances and predictions which have so uniformly failed, we are called upon, not merely to refuse all negotiation, but to countenance principles and views as ⁵distant from wisdom and justice, as they are in their nature wild and unpracticable.—FOX.

¹ 'What about the fact that it was said,' etc. (15). ² 61, 10.
³ 58, 7. ⁴ 58, 7. ⁵ *alienus*: or say 'as (*tam*) unwise and unjust as (*quam*) by nature wild and impracticable, (118).

CLVIII

It is unnecessary to say more ¹with respect to the credit due to his professions, or the reliance to be placed on his general character. ²But it will, perhaps, be argued, that whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. ³That he has an interest in making peace is at best but a doubtful proposition, and that he has an interest in preserving it is still more uncertain. That it is his interest to negotiate, I do not indeed deny; it is his interest above all ⁴to engage this country in separate negotiation, in order to ⁵loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the continent, to ⁶palsy the arms of any country that might look to you for support; and then either to break off his separate treaty, or, if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson which is taught in his school of policy in Egypt; and to revive, at his pleasure, those claims of indemnification which may have been reserved to some happier period.—PITT.

¹ 'How much his promises are to be believed . . . , this has been sufficiently stated' (58, 8; 66, 5). ² *At enim* (86): or, *Forsitan quispiam dixerit*, followed by *Or. Rect.* ³ 77 c; 78. ⁴ 'that this country (58, 4) should negotiate separately,' etc. ⁵ 93. ⁶ 95.

CLIX

The time is now come, my lords, when I feel I shall truly stand in need of all your indulgence. ¹It is not merely the august presence of this assembly which ²embarrasses me, ³for I have oftentimes had experience of its condescension; nor the novelty of this proceeding that ²perplexes me, for the mind gradually gets reconciled to the strangest things; nor is it the magnitude of this cause that ²oppresses me, for I am borne up and cheered ⁴by that conviction of its justice which I share with all mankind; but, my lords, ⁵it is the very force of that conviction, the knowledge that it operates universally, the feeling that it operates rightly, which now

dismays me ⁶ with the apprehension that my unworthy mode of handling it may for the first time injure it; ⁷ and while others have trembled for a guilty client, or been anxious in a doubtful case, or crippled with the consciousness of some hidden weakness, or chilled by the influence, or dismayed by the hostility of public opinion, I, knowing that here there is no guiltiness to conceal, nor anything save the resources of perjury to dread, am haunted with the apprehension, that my feeble discharge of this duty may for the first time cast that cause into doubt.—LORD BROUGHAM.

¹ 61, 16; 84, 2: begin each sentence with *Non*. ² 77 a. ³ 66, 2.

⁴ Either *opinio*, or, 'by this that I . . . am convinced.' ⁵ 'That very (fact) that it is firmly, that it is by all, that it is rightly believed to be so,' etc. ⁶ *ne*. ⁷ 78.

CLX

With regard to this country, England must resort to the free principles of government, ¹ and must forget that legislative power which she has exercised ² to do mischief to herself. She must go back to freedom, which, as it is ³ the foundation of her constitution, so it is the main ⁴ pillar of her empire. ⁵ It is not merely the connection of the crown, it is a constitutional annexation, an alliance of liberty, which is the true meaning and mystery of the sisterhood, and will make both countries one ⁶ arm and one soul, replenishing from time to time, in their immortal connection, the vital spirit of law and liberty from ⁷ the lamp of each other's light; ⁸ thus combined by the ties of common interest, equal trade and equal liberty, the constitution of both countries may become immortal, a new and milder empire may arise from the errors of the old, and the British nation assume once more her natural station—the head of mankind.—GRATTAN.

¹ 73. ² 23. ^{3, 4} 93. ⁵ '(It is) not if the citizens of the two countries (58, 4) are joined (50, 1; 60, 13) under the same authority only, but if with equal laws, with equal rights, (that), in the inner meaning of the term, they will be rightly called brothers,' etc. ⁶ 94. ⁷ 94, or 99, 2. ⁸ 72.

CLXI

¹ He has told us, sir, that the people have been persuaded there are grievances, by writing, meeting, and speaking; but if it is a fault to persuade by writing, meeting, and speaking, let him tell us what ² means of persuasion more eligible he has discovered. ³ Writing, and meeting, and speaking about grievances do not make them: ⁴ it has, indeed, been insinuated that our grievances are imaginary, ⁵ because they are such as the peasants, or artificers of Yorkshire, would not immediately feel, nor perhaps discover till they felt. ⁶ But if those who see oppression in its distant though certain approach—if those who see the subversion of liberty in its cause are always few, does it follow that there never are approaches to oppression, or remote causes of the subversion of liberty? If the few who can and do discover effects in their causes ⁷ open the eyes of others—if those who see ⁸ the rights of election invaded in Middlesex, acquaint the graziers and clothiers of remote counties with ⁹ their interest in the event and its consequences, are they, for that reason, leaders of a faction, actuated by personal and selfish views? ¹⁰ If all who are interested see their danger and seek redress, does it follow that they implicitly ¹¹ re-echo a causeless complaint? Or when redress is refused them, can it be pretended that they are well affected?—BURKE.

¹ Quote the words in *Or. Rect.* ² *ratio*: or, 58, 8. ³ 'Grievances are not made by writing,' etc.; beginning the sentence with *Non fiunt* or the like; or 'To write . . . is not to make,' etc. ⁴ 'There are, however, some who insinuate'; or, 'For (*Nam*, 61, 9; 86) there are some,' etc. ⁵ 35. ⁶ Does it follow, because those who see . . . , that there never are,' etc.: *Num quia*, etc. ⁷ 94, or 95. ⁸ 'The rights of the electors' (58). ⁹ 58, 8. ¹⁰ *An quia* . . . , *num idcirco*, etc. ¹¹ 97.

CLXII

Is this the same nation ¹that we once remember to have heard shouting for emancipation? ²Is this the people that was to set an example of magnanimity to the world? I can scarcely believe it: I would willingly persuade myself that I am deceived; but facts cannot be discredited, and I behold the free republic of America lending her aid to crush those principles to which she owes her own ³existence, and to support the most desolating tyranny that ever afflicted the race of man. ⁴It is impossible not to lament the loss to such a nation of such an opportunity, which no combination of circumstances can ever restore. ⁵I do not say that America should have been induced to assist us against France. I would not have asked her to risk her ⁶tender and unconfirmed existence in a war, and to endure all the dangers, or to incur all the expenses that must have ensued from her taking part in such an enterprise. She might have maintained a just and noble neutrality. But were it put to me indeed as a matter of opinion, which would best become her history, her character, and her constitution, to unite with England or to league with France, I should not have hesitated in my determination.—CANNING.

¹ *cuius etiam sonat in auribus vox* (60, 4). ² 61, 16. ³ 58, 7 or 9.

⁴ 78, 2 or 3: this clause is to be contrasted with, 'But were it put to me.'

⁵ 'The Americans (58, 4) should not, indeed, have been induced . . . , nor yet asked by us,' etc. ⁶ 98.

CLXIII

So hostile is he to deliberation, such ¹an avowed enemy to everything that looks like inquiry and reflection, that even on this day, when he is suffering the shame of ²rashness, he calls upon us to be rash. Although his propositions have been but once cursorily read over, and in that reading embellished

and set off with all the lustre of his eloquence,—although they are perfectly new,—and although he has not submitted them to the committee till after midnight, he demands and compels us ³to come to a vote on them. ⁴The decency of this conduct I will not insist upon; but thus driven, thus forced to a division, I must, however unwilling to give a hasty negative, vote directly against his propositions, as conceiving them to be ⁵at the best unnecessary, most probably pernicious, but undoubtedly so productive of an entire revolution in our commercial system, as to involve a train of consequences, ⁶against which the wisest and best characters of this country might despair of providing any adequate security.—Fox.

¹ 77 b. ² 77 c. ³ 65, 2. ⁴ 65, 2; 58, 8. ⁵ *ut levissime dicam* (32). ⁶ 67; 58, 8: *quæ ne fiant, ut satis caveatur, or, cavere*, according to the way in which the remainder is turned.

CLXIV

Never did we stand so high since we were a nation in point of military character. We have it ¹in abundance, and even to spare. This unhappy and seemingly interminable war, ²lavish as it has been in treasure, still more profuse of blood, and barren of real advantage, has at least been equally lavish of glory. Use this glory—use this proud height ³in which we now stand, for the purpose of peace and conciliation with America. Let this, and its incalculable benefits, be the advantage which we reap from the war in Europe; for the fame of that war enables us safely to take it. ⁴And who, I demand, give the most disgraceful counsels—they who tell you we are of military character but of yesterday—we have yet a name to win—we stand on doubtful ground—we dare not do as we list for fear of being thought afraid—we cannot without loss of name stoop to pacify our American kinsmen; or I, who say we are a great, a proud, a warlike people—we have fought everywhere, and conquered wherever we fought

—our character is eternally fixed—it stands too firm to be shaken—and on the faith of it we may do towards America, ⁵ safely for our honour, that which we know our interests require?—LORD BROUGHAM.

¹ *satis superque.* ² 78; 77 c. ³ *ubi* (69). ⁴ *Utri tandem*
 . . . ? *Qui dictitant* . . . ? *An ego* . . . ? ⁵ 'Our honour being
 safe.'

CLXV

What then? Ought I to seek ¹ the suppression of the book? Ought I to pronounce him to be a criminal who promotes its circulation? ² On the contrary, I shall take care to put it into the hands of those ³ whose principles are left to my formation. ⁴ I shall take care that they shall have the advantage of doing, in the regular progression of youthful study, what I have done even in the short intervals of laborious life;—that they shall transcribe with their own hand, from all the works of this extraordinary person, the soundest truths of religion—the justest principles of morals, inculcated and ⁵ rendered delightful by the most sublime eloquence—the highest reach of ⁶ philosophy brought down to the level of common minds—the most enlightened observations of ⁶ history, and the most copious collection of useful maxims from the experience of life. All this they shall do, and separate for themselves the good from the evil, taking the one as far more than a ⁷ counterpoise for the other.—ERSKINE.

¹ 58, 8. ² 87. ³ 58, 10. ⁴ 66, 5. ⁵ *commendo.*
⁶ 58, 3. ⁷ 94.

CLXVI

The contest in which we have lately been engaged is distinguished from all others in modern times ¹ by the number of nations it embraced, and the animosity with which it was conducted. ² Making its first appearance in the centre of the civilised world, like a fire kindled in the thickest part of a forest, it spread during ten years on every side; ³ it burnt in

all directions, gathering fresh fury in its progress, till it enwrapped the whole of Europe in its flames; an awful spectacle, not only to the inhabitants of the earth, but in the eyes of superior beings! ⁴ What place can we point out, to which its effects have not extended? ⁴ Where is the nation, the family, the individual I might almost say, who has not felt its influence? ⁵ It is not, my brethren, the termination of an ordinary contest which we are assembled this day to commemorate; it is an event which includes for the present (may it long perpetuate) the tranquillity of Europe and the pacification of the world.—ROBERT HALL.

¹ 88, 1. ² 60, 13. ³ 89 a. ⁴ 61, 16; 84, 5.
⁵ 85; 61, 16: *Itaque non usitati certaminis*, etc.

CLXVII

At a time, sir, when our taxes are higher than they have been at any former period, and trade everywhere declining—when our brethren in America are driven from the ¹ bosom of their mother country to the arms of foreign nations, whom their commerce will strengthen and enrich—when in every part of our dominions the best, the wisest, and the most moderate men are ready to forget their allegiance, these ² hardened profligates sit unmoved, and would gravely persuade us that there are neither grievances, discontents, nor complaints. While the ³ vessel of state is beaten by a storm that threatens destruction, they are neither in the distress, nor sensible of the danger: they do nothing either for those who trim the sails, or for him that holds the helm, but stand, like horned cattle in the hold, torpid and insensible to all the horrors that surround them. ⁴ Are these the men that are selected to carry on the government of a great nation? ⁵ Look round and you will find them all of a class.—BURKE.

¹ 'As children from the bosom of their mother': 99, 2. ² 37.
³ 93; or adopt the simile form: *respublica tanquam navis*. ⁴ 61, 16; 63.
⁵ 51, 5; 90, 4.

CLXVIII

¹ It has always been the ²trick of ³governments whose proceedings are unjust and foolish, to say, ⁴'Our measures were wise, but they were thwarted in much of their efficacy by opposition.' I hope the public will not be the dupes of that artifice any longer. I hope they will discriminate between their ⁵domestic enemies and their domestic friends, and that they will not suffer their affairs to remain in that ⁶paradoxical situation which was some time ago stated, that ministers by their misconduct may have brought the country into such a state of danger as to require that the people should continue to give them confidence, in order to prevent public ruin. ⁷Some may think, by a strange perversion of reason, that the same causes which conducted us ⁸to the brink of ruin, may ultimately lead us to safety; that folly and wickedness will in time have the same ⁹effect as wisdom and virtue; ¹⁰as it has been said that some animals can counteract their venom by the repetition of their own bite. We must look for some such ¹¹fabulous remedy in our misfortunes, if we give ministers any further confidence; for it is too much to expect a relief from maxims of truth, if such is to continue to be our system. —Fox.

¹ 78: 'While (*Cum*) it has always been . . . ' ² *mos*. ³ *magistratus*.
⁴ *Or. Obl.*: 'that others by opposing weakened considerably their wise (61, 16) measures.' ⁵ 'those who at home are friends and enemies' (*inimici*). ⁶ *praeclarus*, or *mirus*. ⁷ 'Some perverse (*praeposterus*) men may think,' etc.; or, 'Some by interpreting the matter wrongly,' etc. ⁸ *in praeceptis*; 115. ⁹ 61, 10. ¹⁰ 'As for instance (*Velut*) it is said that,' etc.; 58, 9. ¹¹ 'Some such remedies must be sought for out of fables' (77, b: to contrast with 'maxims of truth').

CLXIX

¹ I feel myself impressed with the idea in my breast, that you ²will give your verdict of acquittal of the prisoner at the bar; and that by your verdict you will declare on your oaths

that you do not believe one syllable that Mr. Reynolds has told you. ³ Let me entreat you to put in one scale the base, the attainted, the unfounded, the perjured witness; and in the opposite scale let me advise you to put the testimony of the respectable witnesses produced against Mr. Reynolds, and the witnesses to the prisoner's hitherto unimpeached character; ⁴ and you will hold the balance of justice, tempered with mercy, as your consciences in future will approve. Let me depart from the scene of beholding human misery, should the life of my client by your verdict be forfeited; should he live by your verdict of acquittal, he would rank as the kindest father and protector of his little children, as the best of husbands and of friends, and ever maintain ⁵ that irreproachable character he has hitherto sustained in private life.—CURRAN.

¹ 61, 12: 'I am inwardly (*penitus*) persuaded of this.' ² 'that you will by your votes (*sententiae*) both acquit the prisoner, and say on oath (*iurati*) that,' etc. ³ 93: 'In one scale of the balance put, I pray, . . . ; in the other . . . the testimony.' ⁴ 73: 'So you will weigh out justice with equal scale, in such a way that you will also (*idem*) in the future be pleased to remember your humanity.' ⁵ 66, 5.

CLXX

¹ If you, gentlemen, can think that the defendants were actuated by the motive, not of wishing to ² reform and restore the beautiful fabric of our Constitution, somewhat impaired by time, but to subvert and destroy it, and to raise on its ruins a democracy or anarchy, an idea at which the mind of ³ every honest man must shudder, you will find them guilty. Nay, if any one man knows or believes them to be capable of entertaining such a wish, or will say he ever heard, or had cause to know, that one sentence intimating anything of that nature ever fell from the lips of any one of them, ⁴ I will give them up. ⁵ But it seems the circumstances of the times render any opinion in favour of a reform of parliament particularly improper, and even dangerous; and the recommen-

dation of it, in the present moment, ⁶ must be ascribed to mischievous intentions. ⁷ Were I to address you, gentlemen, to petition for a reform of parliament, I would address you *now*, as the season most fit for the purpose; I would address you *now*, because we have seen in other countries the effect of suffering evils to prevail so long in a government that it became impossible to correct them without bringing in greater evils; that it became impossible to remedy abuses without opening a door to revolution and anarchy. ⁸ There are many diseases which might be removed by gentle medicine in their beginning, and even corrected by timely regimen, which, when neglected, are sure to bring their victims to the grave.—
ERSKINE.

¹ 74, 1: *Vos, iudices, si putare potestis hoc in animo habuisse reos, non ut, . . . sed ut . . .* ² 94: 'reform (*reficio*) and restore (*restituo*) to its pristine beauty the State, now somewhat impaired by time (*senio confectus*, or *senesco*).' ³ *omnes boni*. ⁴ 61, 12: 'I throw up the case.' ⁵ 'But (*At enim*: 86) the times are unsuitable and even dangerous for expressing,' etc. ⁶ 58, 3: 'it is the action of seditious people to urge the matter.' ⁷ 50; 51, 2. ⁸ 'As for instance (*Velut*) many diseases can be removed . . . ; if neglected (51, 3; 90, 2), are sure,' etc.

CLXXI

Turn where we may, within, around, ¹ the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, Reform that you may preserve. Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against ² the spirit of the age; now, while ³ the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding in our ears; now, while old feelings and old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away; now, ⁴ in this your accepted time, ⁵ take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time. Pronounce in a manner worthy of the expectation with which this great debate has been

anticipated, and of the long remembrance which it will leave behind. Renew the youth of the State. ⁶ Save property, divided against itself. Save the multitude, endangered by its own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly civilised community that ever existed from calamities which may in a few days ⁷ sweep away all ⁸ the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible. The time is short. If this bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing remorse, amidst the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order.

—MACAULAY.

¹ 'great events (*casus, discrimen*) warn us to preserve by reforming.'
² *ratio atque inclinatio temporum.* ³ Literally, remembering that Latin has no equivalent for 'throne' in this sense; or 'is tumbling with mighty crash.'
⁴ *nunc saltem, dum licet.* ⁵ 'obey.' ⁶ Give the sentence a 'personal' turn: 126 b, 2. ⁷ 'which may, as a flood, carry off.' ⁸ 'whatever of wisdom and glory so many ages have bequeathed to us,' or 'whatever so many ages of wise and famous men have handed down to us.'

DISSERTATION

CLXXII

Hitherto we have considered the influence of ¹ scepticism on the principles of virtue; have endeavoured to show that it despoils it of its dignity, and ² lays its authority in the dust. ³ Its influence on the formation of ⁴ character ⁵ remains to be examined. ⁶ The actions of men are oftener ⁷ determined by their character than their interest; their conduct ⁸ takes its colour more from their acquired taste, inclinations, and habits, than from a deliberate regard to their greatest good. It is only on great ⁹ occasions the mind awakes to take

an extended survey of her whole course, and that she suffers ¹⁰the dictates of reason to ¹¹impress a new bias upon her movements. ¹²The actions of each day are, for the most part, links which follow each other in the chain of custom. Hence the great effort of practical wisdom is to imbue the mind with right tastes, affections, and habits; the elements of character, and masters of action.

ROBERT HALL, *Modern Infidelity Considered*.

¹ 58, 3; see note to piece LX. ² 94. ³ 58, 8. ⁴ *mores*. ⁵ *Res-tat ut* . . . ⁶ 85. ⁷ *moderor*. ⁸ 96. ⁹ *discrimina*. ¹⁰ 61, 10. ¹¹ *flectere cursum*; 94. ¹² 72; 99, 2; 85: 'Since in our daily life (*consuetudo vitae*) actions for the most part are accustomed to succeed one another like the links of a chain . . .'

CLXXIII

Hence arose the contest amongst the philosophers; ¹ some of whom endeavoured to raise and exalt man, by displaying his greatness; others to depress and abuse him, by representing his misery. And what seems more strange, is, that each party borrowed from the other the ground of their own opinion. ² For the ³ misery of man may be inferred from his greatness, as his greatness is deducible from his misery. Thus ⁴ the one sect, with more evidence, demonstrated his misery in that they derived it from his greatness; and the other more strongly concluded his greatness, because they founded it on his misery. ⁵ Whatever was offered to establish his greatness on one side, served only to evince his misery on behalf of the other; ⁶ it being more miserable to have fallen from the greater height. ⁷ And the same proportion holds *vice versâ*. So that in this endless circle of dispute, each helped to advance his adversary's cause; for it is certain that ⁸ the more degrees of light men enjoy, the more degrees they are able to discern of misery and of greatness. In a word, man knows himself to be miserable; he is therefore exceedingly miserable, because he knows that he is so; ⁹ but he likewise

appears to be eminently great from this very act of knowing himself to be miserable.—PASCAL.

¹ *quorum alii (alteri) . . . , alii (alteri) . . . , utrique, quod magis est mirandum . . .* ² 72. ³ 58, 7, or 59, 1. ⁴ *hi . . . illi.* ⁵ 85 : *Itaque.* ⁶ 'Because (35) the higher one (55, 4; 128) has been, the more miserable it is to fall thence.' ⁷ 'And since it may be argued in the same way (*ratio*) in the contrary direction,' etc. ⁸ 55, 4; 128 : or, *quo . . . eo . . .* ⁹ 90, 1 : *hoc ipso quod scit.*

CLXXIV

¹ First, when a city shall be as it were besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round ; ² that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, ³ should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing even to a rarity and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of, ⁴ argues first a singular goodwill, contentedness, and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, Lords and Commons ; ⁵ and from thence derives itself to a ⁶ gallant bravery and well-grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment. ⁷ Next, it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. ⁸ For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is ; so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy, and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor ⁹ drooping to a fatal decay, by casting off the old and wrinkled

¹⁰ skin of corruption to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages.—MILTON, *Areopagitica*.

¹ 72. ² 2, or 15. ³ 61, 12. ⁴ Here insert *hoc* in apposition to preceding substantival sentence. ⁵ *ex quibus (unde, 69) nascuntur*, etc., 98. ⁶ 'such a bravery . . . that there seem to be among us many citizens of the same spirit as that man who, Rome, in which (69) he himself was living, being all but . . . , yet bought,' etc. ⁷ 86. ⁸ 91. ⁹ 93. ¹⁰ 93.

CLXXV

¹ It may be objected, that many who are capable of the higher pleasures, occasionally, under the influence of temptation, postpone them to the lower. But ² this is quite compatible with a full appreciation of the intrinsic superiority of the higher. ³ Men often, from infirmity of character, make their election for the nearer good, though they know it to be less valuable; and this no less when ⁴ the choice is between two ⁵ bodily pleasures, than when it is between bodily and mental. They pursue sensual indulgences to the injury of health, though perfectly aware that health is the greater good. It may be further objected, that many who begin with youthful enthusiasm for everything noble, as they advance in years, sink into indolence and selfishness. But I do not believe that those who undergo this very common change ⁶ voluntarily choose the lower description of pleasures in preference to the higher. ⁷ I believe that before they devote themselves exclusively to the one, they have already become incapable of the other.—MILL.

¹ *At (enim)*, 86. ² 'It may be that the same men may fully appreciate,' etc. ³ 'It often results from an infirmity,' etc. (60, 12). ⁴ 59, 3. ⁵ 123 a, 1 b. ⁶ 'postponing the higher. voluntarily choose,' etc. ⁷ 'but that before,' etc.

CLXXVI

When people who are tolerably fortunate in their ¹ outward lot do not find in life sufficient enjoyment to make it valuable to them, the cause generally is, ² caring for nobody but themselves. ³ To those who have neither public nor private affections, the excitements of life ⁴ are much curtailed, and in any case dwindle in value as the time approaches when ⁵ all selfish interests must be terminated by death; ⁶ while those who leave after them objects of personal affection, especially those who have also cultivated a fellow-feeling with the collective interests of mankind, retain as lively an interest in life on the eve of death as in the vigour of youth and health. ⁷ Next to selfishness, the principal cause which makes life unsatisfactory is want of mental cultivation. ⁸ A cultivated mind finds sources of inexhaustible interest in all that surrounds it; in the objects of nature, the achievements of art, the imaginations of poetry, the incidents of history, the ways of mankind past and present, and their prospects in the future. ⁹ It is possible, indeed, ¹⁰ to become indifferent to all this, and that too without having exhausted a thousandth part of it; but only ¹¹ when one has had from the beginning no moral or human interest in these things, and has sought in them only the gratification of curiosity.—MILL.

¹ 122 b. ² 15. ³ 78 ; 85. ⁴ *vel numero (77 b) minui . . . vel saltem . . . solent.* ⁵ 'the nearer death approaches (*abl. abs.* : 67, *ad fin.*) (and) men are wont to lay aside the care of their own interests (*commoda*).'
⁶ 78. ⁷ 85 : 'Next after selfishness, this chiefly makes (*efficit*) life unsatisfactory, that,' etc. ⁸ Throw the sentence into a personal shape : 'Those whose minds . . .'
⁹ 78. ¹⁰ 3. ¹¹ 'if these things have totally not touched either mind or heart, and have been looked at neither for the sake of philosophising nor through zeal for the human race.'



CLXXVII

¹ The social state is at once so natural, so necessary, and so habitual to man, that except in some unusual circumstances or ² by an effort of voluntary abstraction, he never conceives himself otherwise than as a member of a body; and this ³ association is ⁴ riveted more and more, as mankind are further removed from ⁵ the state of savage independence. Any condition, therefore, which is essential to a state of society, becomes ⁶ more and more an inseparable part of every person's conception of the state of things which he is born into, and which is the destiny of a human being. Now society between human beings, except in the relation of master and slave, ⁷ is manifestly impossible ⁸ on any other footing than that the interests of all are to be consulted. ⁹ Society between equals can only exist on the understanding that the interests of all are to be regarded equally. And since in all states of civilisation, every person, except an absolute monarch, has equals, every one is obliged to live on these terms with somebody; and in every age some advance is made towards a state in which it will be impossible to live permanently on other terms with anybody. ¹⁰ In this way people grow up unable to conceive as possible to them a state of total disregard of other people's interests.—MILL.

¹ 58, 7, or 59, 1 *societas vitae*. ² 'unless he purposely imagines (*imaginem cogitatione fingere*) this condition.' ³ *consuetudo*, qualified, e.g. by a genitive. ⁴ 95. ⁵ *feritas et solitudo* (122 a, 1 a). ⁶ 'so intimately connected with . . . , that it cannot even be thought of apart.' ⁷ *Omnino non potest fieri ut . . .* ⁸ *excepto si*, or *nisi hac condicione ut . . .* ⁹ 72. ¹⁰ *Itaque fit ut . . .*

CLXXVIII

¹ You will find fault perhaps, and attribute to artifice, ² that I consider singly misfortunes which come all together on the banished man, and overbear him with their united weight;

³ you could support change of place ⁴ if it was not accompanied with poverty, or poverty ⁴ if it was not accompanied with the separation from your family and your friends, with the loss of your rank, consideration, and power, with contempt and ignominy. ⁵ Whoever he be who reasons in this manner, let him take the following answer. ⁶ The least of these circumstances is singly sufficient to render the man miserable who is not prepared for it, he who has not divested himself of the passion upon which it is directed to work. But he who has got the mastery of all his passions, who has foreseen all these accidents, and prepared his mind to endure them all, ⁷ will be superior to all of them, and to all of them at once as well as singly. ⁸ He will not bear the loss of his rank, ⁹ because he can bear the loss of his estate; but he will bear both because he is prepared for both, because he is free from pride as much as he is from avarice. You are separated from your family and your friends. ¹⁰ How few of your family will you find who deserve the name of friends! Regret, if you please, your separation from this small remnant, but regret it like a man who deserves to be theirs.

BOLINGBROKE, *Reflections upon Exile.*

¹ 'Here perhaps you will find fault.' ² 15. ³ 90, 1. ⁴ Literally, or personally with *idem*. ⁵ *si quis*. ⁶ *Or. Obl.* dependent upon the preceding phrase may be employed. ⁷ Insert here *hic* or *hunc*. ⁸ Return to *Or. Rect.* 76. ⁹ 35. ¹⁰ *At familiae quota pars . . .*

CLXXIX

No usage, law, or authority whatever, is so binding, that it need or ought to be continued, when it may be changed with advantage to the community. ¹ The family of the prince, the order of succession, the prerogative of the crown, the form and parts of the legislature, together with the respective powers, office, duration, and mutual dependency of the several parts, ² are all only so many *laws*, mutable like

other laws, whenever expediency requires, either by the ordinary act of the legislature, or, if the occasion deserve it, by the interposition of the people. ³ These points are wont to be approached with a kind of awe; they are ⁴ represented to the mind as principles of the constitution settled by our ancestors, and, being settled, to be no more committed to innovation or debate; as foundations never to be stirred; as the terms and conditions ⁵ of the social compact, to which every citizen of the state has engaged his fidelity, by virtue of a promise which he cannot now recall. Such reasons have no place in ⁶ our system: to us, ⁷ if there be any good reason for treating these with more deference and respect than other laws, it is either the ⁸ advantage of the present constitution of government (which reason must be of different force in different countries), or because in all countries it is of importance that the form and usage of governing be acknowledged and understood, as well by the governors as by the governed, and because the seldomer it is changed, the more perfectly it will be known by both sides.—PALEY.

¹ 58, 8. ² 'these things as they are settled merely by laws, so those (laws) can be changed,' etc. ³ Contrast this sentence (78) with 'Such reasons have no place,' etc. ⁴ *finguntur*. ⁵ 'under which men associate with one another' (126 b). ⁶ 63. ⁷ 'these are to be for this reason (*idcirco*) treated . . . , if indeed there is a reason (11) why they should be so treated, either because,' etc. ⁸ 58, 8.

CLXXX

Those who either attack or defend a minister in such a government as ours, where the utmost liberty is allowed, always carry matters to an extreme, and exaggerate his merit or demerit with regard to the public. His enemies are sure to charge him with the greatest enormities, both in ¹ domestic and foreign management; and ² there is no meanness or crime of which, in their judgment, he is not capable. Unnecessary wars, scandalous treaties, profusion of public

treasure, oppressive taxes, every kind of maladministration, is ascribed to him. To aggravate the charge, his pernicious conduct, it is ³ said, will extend its baneful influence even to posterity, by undermining the best constitution in the world, and disordering that wise system of laws, institutions, and customs, by which our ancestors, during so many centuries, have been so happily governed. ⁴ He is not only a wicked minister in himself, but has removed every security provided against wicked ministers for the future. On the other hand, the partisans of the minister ⁵ make his panegyric rise as high as the accusation against him. ⁶ The honour and interest of the nation supported abroad, public credit maintained at home, faction subdued; the merit of all these blessings is ascribed solely to the minister. ⁷ At the same time, he crowns all his other merits by a religious care of the best government in the world, which he has preserved in all its parts, and has transmitted entire, to be the happiness and security of the latest posterity.—HUME.

¹ 122 a, 2. ² 'he is said to be incapable of no meanness (61, 16; 63).' ³ Introduce *Or. Obl.* after this. ⁴ Continue the *Or. Obl.*
⁵ 'praise him as much as the others blame him.' ⁶ 15. ⁷ Show that this is a continuation of their praise.

CLXXXI

¹ Happiness then in its full extent is the utmost pleasure we are capable of, and misery the utmost pain: ² and the lowest degree of what can be called happiness is so much ease from all pain, and so much present pleasure, as without which any one cannot be content. Now, because pleasure and pain are produced in us by the operation of certain objects, either on our minds or our bodies, and in different degrees: therefore what ³ has an aptness to produce pleasure in us is that we call good, and what is apt to produce pain in us we call evil, for no other reason, but for its aptness to produce pleasure

and pain in us, wherein consists our happiness and misery. Farther, though what is apt to produce ⁴any degree of pleasure be in itself good; and what is apt to produce any degree of pain be evil; yet it often happens that we do not call it so, when ⁵it comes in competition with a greater of its sort; because when they come in competition, ⁶the degrees also of pleasure and pain have justly a preference. So that if we will rightly estimate what we call good and evil, we shall find it lies much in comparison: for the cause of every less degree of pain, as well as every greater degree of pleasure, has the nature of good, and *vice versâ*.—LOCKE.

¹ *Esse beatum* (58, 7) . . . *hoc est quam maximis frui voluptatibus.*

² 'Life, that it may in any way be truly called happy, it is necessary must be without pain,' etc. ³ *solet.* ⁴ 'pleasure, even in the least degree.' ⁵ Use the gerundive. ⁶ 'the lesser pains,' etc.

CLXXXII

¹ Yet many and conspicuous as are the cases in which pleasures and pains, ²sensational and emotional, ³serve as incentives to proper acts and deterrents from improper acts, these pass unnoticed; and notice is taken only of those cases in which men are ⁴directly or indirectly misled by them. The well-working in essential matters is ignored; and the ill-working in unessential matters is alone recognised. ⁵ Is it here replied that the more intense pains and pleasures, which have immediate reference to ⁶bodily needs, guide us rightly; while the weaker pains and pleasures, not immediately connected with the maintenance of life, guide us wrongly? Then the implication is that the system of guidance by pleasures and pains, which has answered with all types of creatures below the human, fails with the human. Or rather, the admission being that with mankind it succeeds in so far as fulfilment of certain imperative wants goes, it fails in respect of wants that are not imperative. ⁷ Those who think thus ⁸are required, in ⁹the first place, to show us how the line is to be drawn between the two; and then to show us why

the system which succeeds in the lower will not succeed in the higher.—HERBERT SPENCER.

¹ 'But although in many things it is manifest.' ² 122 a, 1 b.
³ *incitare ad recte agendum.* ⁴ 'men are led into error either by the pleasures themselves or through them.' ⁵ 'If any shall say . . . , he argues (or, it follows) that all other kinds of animals can be guided . . . , the race of men cannot' (78, 5). ⁶ 122 a, 1 b. ⁷ 67; 85, 2.
⁸ *necesse est.* ⁹ 86: *primum . . . deinde.*

CLXXXIII

¹ Against these men we use neither prevention nor adequate punishment. This may be most wise and most noble, if we render them powerless by removing or lessening that real evil which alone makes them dangerous; ² it is mere suicidal folly, if we at once allow them to go on in such a state, that when the ³ pestilence is let loose amongst them they cannot but catch its infection. But whether we prevent or punish these men, or whether we let them alone, still if the real evil is not attended to, it must come in the end to the same thing. Could these men produce any impression at all in any ⁴ healthy state of society? Could they be listened to for a single instant unless suffering and ignorance had already prepared the minds and hearts of their hearers for the reception of any wickedness and folly? ⁵ Suffering and ignorance are co-existent amongst a vast mass of our people, with a power of organisation, and with a sense of personal and civil rights, ⁶ not clear indeed or just, but lively, and with a foundation of justice which makes it doubly dangerous. Poverty, ignorance, numbers, organisation, and a sense of wrong done and right withheld,—I know not how any country can be more cursed than by having all these points combined together within ⁷ its bosom, in opposition to every one of its existing institutions.—ARNOLD.

¹ 'Whom if we neither prevent . . . , this may indeed (*potest illud quidem . . .*); 72; 78. ² 58, 3: *est se ipsos perdentium.* ³ 93.
⁴ 93. ⁵ 67; 78; 85, 2: 'Which things while they affect a vast mass, they can (*tum hi*) join together, they are conscious,' etc. ⁶ *si non . . . at:* 86. ⁷ 93.

CLXXXIV

While some ¹politicians may be waiting to know whether the sense of every individual be against them, ²accurately distinguishing the vulgar from the better sort, drawing lines between the enterprises of a faction and the efforts of a people, ³they may chance to see the government, which they are so nicely weighing and dividing and distinguishing, ⁴tumble to the ground in the midst of their wise deliberation. Prudent men, when so great an object as ⁵the security of government, or even its peace, ⁶is at stake, will not ⁶run the risk of a decision which may be fatal to it. ⁷They who can read the political sky will see a hurricane in a cloud no bigger than a hand at the very ⁸edge of the horizon, and will run into the first harbour. No lines can be laid down for civil or political wisdom. They are a matter incapable of exact definition. But, ⁹though no man can ¹⁰draw a stroke between the confines of day and night, yet light and darkness are upon the whole tolerably distinguishable. Nor will it be impossible for a prince to find out such a mode of government, and such persons to administer it, as will give a great degree of content to his people; without any curious and anxious ¹¹research for that abstract, universal, perfect harmony, which while he is seeking, he abandons those means of ordinary tranquillity which are in his power without any research at all.—BURKE.

¹ 'who are set over,' or, 'are directing a state.' ² 'while they are wasting time by accurately,' etc. ³ 'this very government (66, 3) which they are . . . , they may chance to see,' etc. ⁴ 94: *praeceps ire*. ⁵ 58, 8; or 59, 1. ⁶ 94. ⁷ 93: see esp. Cic. *Pro Murena*, cap. xvii. ⁸ *caeli finis*. ⁹ Throw into the form of a simple simile, or of that *per negationem* (91). ¹⁰ 94. ¹¹ *infinita illa de universo . . . genere quæstio*.

CLXXXV

The greatest part of mankind want leisure or capacity for demonstration, nor can carry a chain of proofs, which in that way they must always depend upon for conviction,¹ and cannot be required to assent to till they see the demonstration. Whenever they² stick, the teachers are always³ put upon⁴ truth, and must clear the doubt by a⁵ thread of coherent deductions from the first principle, how long or how intricate soever that be.⁶ And you may as soon hope to have all the day-labourers and tradesmen, the spinsters and dairymaids, perfect mathematicians, and to have them perfect in ethics this way: ⁷hearing plain commands is the only course to bring them to obedience and practice: the greatest part cannot know, and therefore they must believe. And, I ask, whether⁸ one coming from heaven in the power of God, in full and clear evidence and demonstration of miracles, giving plain and direct rules of morality and obedience, be not likelier to enlighten the bulk of mankind, and set them right in their duties, and bring them to do them, than by reasoning with them from general notions and principles of human reason.—
LOCKE, *Christian Revelation the sure standard of Morality.*

¹ 68. ² *haesito.* ³ Perhaps *revocantur.* ⁴ 114. ⁵ 94 or 95.
⁶ 85. ⁷ 73. ⁸ *caelitus demissus, divinus homo.*

CLXXXVI

¹ Beauty and grace are undoubtedly united by nature itself with the useful: but they are² not therefore desirable because they are useful: but³ because, from the nature of man, he enjoys a pure pleasure in their contemplation—a pleasure precisely similar to that which the contemplation of virtue gives; a necessity as imperative for man as a reasonable being, as food, clothing, and a habitation are for him as an animal. I say for him as an animal, because he has much in common with all or most other animals. But neither these animal

wants, nor the capability and desire to satisfy them, make him a man. While he procures his food, builds himself a nest, takes to himself a mate, leads his young, fights with any other who would deprive him of his food or take possession of his nest ; in all this he acts, ⁴ so far as it is merely corporal, as an animal. Merely ⁵ through the skill and manner in which, as a man, he performs all these animal-like acts, does he distinguish and elevate himself above all other animals, and evince his human nature.—WIELAND.

¹ 78 ; 114. ² 35. ³ ' because by contemplating them pure pleasures and (pleasures) as like as possible to those which (are enjoyed) by contemplating virtue are enjoyed (130, 5) by the mind. And indeed to men using their reason such pleasures are as necessary as food . . . , which (78 : *cum . . . tum*) while (they are indispensable) to the other animals (or, while other animals demand them), are also indispensable to men, for these have much in common with those.' ⁴ ' so far as he satisfies the needs of the body only.' ⁵ 55, 4 ; 128 : ' In proportion as each one performs these . . . acts with skill after the fashion of a man, he distinguishes himself,' etc.

CLXXXVII

¹ As men in a savage state may not kill one another, ² because the right to life is as old as the very existence of man at all : ³ so men in society may not take away property, because the right to hold property is as old as the very existence of property itself. ⁴ But are persons without property to starve rather than lay hands on the property of their neighbours ? ⁵ I will ask, in return, what do we think of those dreadful cases in which men ⁶ in the extremity of famine have even killed one of their number to be food for the rest ? We cannot judge of acts of the last dreadful necessity ; but we do know that the extremest necessity is no rule for common cases, and ⁷ that if absolute starvation be allowed to be stronger than the law of property, it does not follow that the same excuse should be allowed to distress and inconvenience. ⁸ I will not speak of the right of a starving man, or a man with a starving family, to help himself to food if it is denied him,

till I shall know that there are found to be any so wicked as to deny it him. But what is to the purpose to speak of, and what I hope to speak of, ⁹ is the wickedness of those who would persuade the poor that poverty, not starvation, may be relieved by robbery, ¹⁰ and the equal wickedness of those who, being aware of the poverty of their neighbours, are yet disposed to make no sacrifice to relieve it by means at once rightful and effectual.—ARNOLD.

¹ 'not yet reclaimed from savagery.' ² *quia, ex quo . . .* ³ 54; 78, 4: 'men collected into communities.' ⁴ 86: *At enim . . .* ⁵ *At quid putandum est . . . ?* ⁶ 115; 60, 10. ⁷ 50, 4. ⁸ 85: *Quare, or Itaque.* ⁹ 61, 16; 63: 'but about the wickedness . . ., about this it is both,' etc. ¹⁰ 'to whose (61, 8) wickedness the wickedness of those (123 a, 2) is equal, who,' etc.

CLXXXVIII

¹ I remember very well, ² in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say that there were several thousand books among us written upon the Art of Government, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) ³ a very mean opinion of our understandings. ⁴ He professed both to abominate and despise all Mystery, Refinement, and Intrigue, either in a Prince or in a Minister. He could not tell what I meant by secrets of State, where an enemy or some rival nation ⁵ were not in the case. He confined the art of governing within very narrow bounds, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth considering. ⁶ And he gave it for his opinion that whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before would deserve better of mankind and do more essential service to his country than the ⁷ whole race of politicians put together.—SWIFT.

¹ 56. ² *cum dissererem.* ³ 'caused him to rate low.' ⁴ Here the *Or. Obl.* may be introduced. ⁵ *nisi sermo esset de . . .* ⁶ 57, 2. ⁷ *universum genus rem publicam capessentium.*

CLXXXIX

I believe ¹ the instances are exceedingly rare of men ² immediately passing over a clear, ³ marked line of virtue into ⁴ declared vice and corruption. There are ⁵ a sort of middle ⁶ tint and shade between the two extremes; there is something uncertain on the confines of the two empires which they first pass through, and which renders the change easy and ⁷ imperceptible. There are even a sort of splendid impositions so well contrived that at the very time the ⁸ path of rectitude is quitted for ever, men seem to be advancing into some higher and nobler ⁸ road of public conduct. ⁹ Not that such impositions are strong enough in themselves; but a powerful interest, often concealed from those whom it affects, works ¹⁰ at the bottom and secures the operation. Men are thus debauched away from those legitimate connections which they had formed on a judgment, early perhaps, but sufficiently mature and wholly unbiassed. They do not quit them ¹¹ upon any ground of complaint, ¹² for grounds of just complaint may exist, but upon the flattering and most dangerous of all principles, that of ¹³ meaning what is well. Gradually they are habituated to other company; and a change in their habitudes soon makes a way for a change in their opinions. Certain persons are no longer so very frightful when they come to be known and to be serviceable. As to their old friends, the transition is easy: from ¹⁴ friendship to civility; from civility to enmity; ¹⁵ few are the steps from dereliction to persecution.—BURKE.

¹ *Perraro fit.* ² *repente.* ³ Perhaps *discrimen.* ⁴ *apertus.*
⁵ 99, 1. ⁶ 93. ⁷ Use *fallere.* ⁸ 93. ⁹ *Non quo . . . sed ;*
35; or 78. ¹⁰ 111, b. ¹¹ *non quod . . . , sed—id quod . . .*
—ut . . . ¹² 27; 66, 2. ¹³ 94. ¹⁴ Use a personal for the
abstract form of expression. ¹⁵ 88, 2: 'a small interval intervenes
between leaving and persecuting.'

CXC

¹ It results from the preceding considerations, that there is in reality nothing desired except ² happiness. Whatever is desired otherwise than as ³ a means to some end beyond itself, and ultimately to happiness, is desired as itself a part of happiness, and is not desired for itself until it has become so. Those who desire virtue ⁴ for its own sake desire it either because the consciousness of it is a pleasure, or because the consciousness of being without it is a pain, or for both reasons united ; ⁵ as in truth the pleasure and pain seldom exist separately, but almost always together, the same person feeling pleasure ⁶ in the degree of virtue attained, and pain in not having attained more. ⁷ If one of these gave him no pleasure, and the other no pain, he ⁸ would not love or desire ⁹ virtue, or would desire it only for the other benefits which it might produce to himself or to persons whom he cared for. Thus happiness ¹⁰ is the sole end of human action, and the promotion of it the test by which to judge all human conduct ; from whence it necessarily follows that it must be ¹¹ the criterion of morality, since a part is included in the whole.—MILL.

¹ *Ex quo sequitur.* ² 58, 7 ; 114. ³ 58, 8. ⁴ See example under 63 a. ⁵ *neque enim.* ⁶ 128. ⁷ 85. ⁸ *aut omnino non . . . aut . . .* ⁹ 63 a. ¹⁰ Give the sentence a 'personal' turn (58). ¹¹ Example under 61, 17.

CXCI

¹ The cause of our judging amiss, when we compare our present pleasure or pain with future, seems to me ² to be the weak and narrow constitution of our minds. We cannot well enjoy two pleasures at once, ³ much less any pleasure almost, whilst pain possesses us. The present pleasure, if it be not very languid, and almost none at all, fills our narrow souls,

and so takes up the whole mind that it scarce leaves any thought of things absent ; or if, among our pleasures, there are some which are not strong enough ⁴ to exclude the consideration of things at a distance, yet we have so great an abhorrence of pain that a little of it extinguishes all our pleasures : ⁵ a little bitter mingled in our cup ⁶ leaves no relish of the sweet. Hence it comes, that at any rate we desire to be rid of the present evil, which we are apt to think nothing absent can equal ; because, under the present pain, we find not ourselves capable of any, ⁷ the least degree of happiness. Men's daily complaints are a loud proof of this : the pain that any one actually feels is still of all other the worst ; and it is with anguish they cry out, ' Any rather than this ; nothing can be so intolerable as what I now suffer.'—LOCKE.

¹ 11. ² 15 ; 58, 8. ³ 31. ⁴ 20 ; 58, 8. ⁵ *amari aliquid* : this sentence *may* be thrown into simile form (99, 2), and placed before the preceding (65, 6). ⁶ *adimit omnem suavitatem* ; or by a concrete periphrasis. ⁷ *vel minimus*.

CXCII

If therefore, ¹ as to present pleasure and pain, the mind, as has been said, never mistakes that which is really good or evil ; that which is the greater pleasure or the greater pain is really just as it appears. But though present pleasure and pain show their ² difference and degrees so plainly as not to ³ leave room for mistake, yet when we compare present pleasure or pain with future (which is usually the case in the most important determinations of the will), we often make wrong judgments of them, ⁴ taking our measures of them in different positions of distance. ⁵ Objects near our view ⁶ are apt to be thought greater than those of a larger size, that are more remote ; and ⁷ so it is with pleasures and pains : the present is apt ⁸ to carry it, and those at a distance have the disadvantage in the comparison. Thus most men, like spend-

thrift heirs, are apt to judge a little in hand better than a great deal to come; and so, for small matters in possession, part with greater ones ⁹ in reversion. But that this is a wrong judgment every one must allow, let his pleasure consist in whatever it will: since that which is future will certainly come to be present; and then, having the same advantage of nearness, will show itself in its full dimensions, and discover his wilful mistake, who ¹⁰ judged of it by unequal measures.—LOCKE.

¹ (61, 16) *Praesentium igitur voluptatum*, etc. ² (58, 8) *genere* and *magnitudine* may be used as well. ³ *ut nullus sit opinionis erroris locus*: or use the impersonal construction (59, 3). ⁴ 'since they are not all equally (*idem*) distant from the measurers (part.)' ⁵ Make a formal simile of it (91; 99, 2): *Ut* (or, *Quemadmodum*) *enim quae prope conspiciuntur . . .* ⁶ *soleo*. ⁷ 61, 16. ⁸ (94 or 95) some 'voting' or 'weighing' metaphor is required. ⁹ 93. ¹⁰ 'did not apply one and the same measure to both.'

CXCIII

¹ Philosophy being nothing else but the study of wisdom and truth, it may with reason be expected that those who have spent most time and pains ² in it should enjoy greater calm and serenity of mind, a greater clearness and evidence of knowledge, and be less disturbed with doubts and difficulties, than other men. ³ Yet so it is we see ⁴ the illiterate bulk of mankind that walk ⁵ the high road of plain common sense, and ⁶ are governed by the dictates of nature, for the most part easy and undisturbed. To them nothing that's familiar appears ⁷ unaccountable or difficult to comprehend. They complain not of any want of evidence in their senses, and are out of all danger of becoming ⁸ *sceptics*. But ⁹ no sooner do ¹⁰ we depart from sense and instinct to follow the light of a superior principle, to reason, meditate, and reflect on the nature of things, but a thousand scruples ¹¹ spring up in our minds concerning those things which before we

seemed fully to comprehend. Prejudices and errors of sense do from all parts discover themselves to our view; ¹² and endeavouring to correct these by reason, we are insensibly drawn into uncouth paradoxes, difficulties, and inconsistencies, which multiply and grow upon us as we advance in speculation; till at length, ¹³ having wandered through many intricate ¹⁴ mazes, we find ourselves just where we were, or, which is worse, sit down ¹⁵ in a forlorn scepticism.—BERKELEY.

¹ 'Since to study philosophy is nothing else except to study,' etc.
² Transl. by adverb of place or direction. ³ *Nunc tamen.* ⁴ *indoctae turbae pars maxima.* ⁵ (93) *trita*, or, *munita via.* ⁶ *parent*, or work in *naturae congruenter.* ⁷ 118. ⁸ If translated by a title, qualify by *qui vocantur*, or the like; see piece LX. ⁹ *simulac.*
¹⁰ abl. abs. 'being left.' ¹¹ 98. ¹² 67. ¹³ *pererratis.* ¹⁴ (93) Qualify by a genitive. ¹⁵ literally, or, 'despairing of the truth;' perhaps *in salebra haerere* may be utilised.

CXCIV

¹ Historians have justly pronounced their full condemnation on the ² selfish hypocrisy of the tyrant who ³ talks of liberty in order to establish his own despotism. And ⁴ for those who, despising all the honours and benefits of society, which are fully open to them, aspire to a rank and greatness of a higher and more exclusive sort ⁵ than the nature of society allows, no condemnation can be too severe, for no wickedness can be greater. But the lower class, when they are misled into such alliances, deserve even in their worst excesses a milder sentence. ⁶ Not only are they entitled to all the excuse which ⁷ may be claimed by ignorance, ⁸ and an ignorance arising rather from their condition than from their choice; but in their quarrel against the existing order of things there is, and ever will be, amidst much of envy and cupidity and revenge, a certain mixture also of justice. Nothing is more horrible than the rebellions of slaves; yet it is impossible to regard even these with unmixed

abhorrence. Nor can we ever ¹ place on the same level those who, being excluded from the benefits of society, do but seek a share of them, and those who, enjoying all these benefits in ample measure, cannot rest without something more.—
ARNOLD.

¹ (88, 1) *Et . . . et . . .* ² 122 a, 1 a. ³ *laudo.* ⁴ 'as no wickedness can be greater than theirs who (123 b) . . ., so no condemnation,' etc. ⁵ 61, 17. ⁶ 85. ⁷ *debetur.* ⁸ 'and that (124) arising (*natus*, 98) rather from the condition of things (or of their life) than from the will of themselves' (77 b). ⁹ 96.

CXCX

¹ The theory of our constitution, we say, and justly, has been the admiration of the world; the cavils of its enemies, then, derive their force entirely ² from the ³ disagreement between that theory and its practice; nothing, therefore, remains but ⁴ to bring them as near ⁵ as human affairs will admit to a perfect ⁶ correspondence. This will ⁷ cut up faction by the roots, and immediately distinguish those who wish to reform the constitution from those who wish its subversion. Since the abuses are real, the longer they are continued the more they will be known; the discontented will be always gaining ground, and, though repulsed, ⁸ will return to the charge with redoubled vigour and advantage. ⁹ Let reform be considered as a chirurgical operation, if you please; but since the constitution must undergo it or die, it is best to submit before the remedy becomes as dangerous as the disease. ¹⁰ The example ¹¹ drawn from a neighbouring kingdom, as an argument for delay, ought to teach us a contrary lesson. Had the encroachments of arbitrary power been steadily resisted, and ¹² remedies been applied as evils appeared, ¹³ instead of piling them up as precedents, the disorders of government could never have ¹⁴ arisen to that enormous height, nor would the people have been impelled to the dire necessity of

¹⁵ building the whole fabric of political society ¹⁶ afresh.—
ROBERT HALL, *On a Reform of Parliament*.

¹ *Nostrorum institutorum ratio*. ² 58, 8. ³ 'the practice does not correspond (*respondeo*)'; for 'practice' use either *usus* or *exempla* (= 'concrete instances'). ⁴ 19. ⁵ 61, 17. ⁶ 126 b, b 2. ⁷ (93 or 94): *radicitus extirpare* (*evellere*). ⁸ *recurro*. ⁹ 'Imagine, if you like, that a disease has to be, as it were, cut out by those who wish to doctor the constitution (*respublica*).' ¹⁰ 16. ¹¹ 'As for the fact that people using the example . . . argue . . .' ¹² 94. ¹³ 21. ¹⁴ *serpo*. ¹⁵ (93 or 94): *aedificare, fabrica*. ¹⁶ 116.

CXCVI

But though animals learn many parts of their knowledge from observation, there are also many parts of it ¹ which they derive from the original hand of Nature, which much exceed the share of capacity they possess on ordinary occasions, and in which they improve little or nothing ² by the longest practice and experience. ³ These we denominate instincts, and are so apt to admire as something very extraordinary and inexplicable by all the disquisitions of human understanding. But our wonder will perhaps cease or diminish when we consider that the experimental reasoning itself, which we possess in common with beasts, ⁴ and on which the whole conduct of life depends, is nothing but a species of instinct and mechanical power, that acts in us unknown to ourselves, and in its chief operations is not directed by any such relations or comparison of ideas as are the proper objects of our intellectual faculties. ⁵ Though the instinct be different, yet still ⁶ it is an instinct which teaches a man to avoid the fire, as much as that which teaches a bird, with such exactness, the art of incubation and the whole economy and order of its nursery.—HUME.

¹ 'many parts Nature herself originally bestowed' (61, 16).
² 'however much they are exercised and perfected by use'; or use *experientia et usus*. ³ 72. ⁴ 68. ⁵ 85. ⁶ 61, 16; 63.



CXCVII

¹ He made a threefold partition of the human species into birds, beasts, and fishes, being of opinion ² that the road of life lies upwards, in a perpetual ascent through the scale of being: in such sort that the souls of insects after death make their second appearance in the shape of perfect animals, birds, beasts, or fishes; which ³ upon their death are preferred into human bodies, and in their next stage into beings of a higher and more perfect kind. ⁴ This man we considered at first as a sort of heretic, because his scheme seemed not to consist with our fundamental tenet, the mortality of the soul: but ⁵ he justified the notion to be innocent, inasmuch as it included nothing of reward or punishment, and was not proved by any argument which supposed either incorporeal spirit or providence. ⁶ According to this system, the fishes are those men who ⁷ swim in pleasure. The beasts are dry, drudging, covetous, rapacious folk, and all those addicted to care and business, like oxen and other dry land animals, which spend their lives in labour and fatigue. The birds are airy notional men, enthusiasts, projectors, philosophers, and such like: in each species every individual retaining a tincture of his former state, which constitutes what is called genius.—BERKELEY.

¹ *Tria distinxit hominum genera, unum . . . alterum . . . tertium . . .*

² 'that there were various grades of life, from the lowest of which the ascent was always being made (59, 3) to a higher.' ³ To prevent reiteration, translate by *deinceps*. ⁴ 72. ⁵ 61, 20. ⁶ *Hic docebat.*

⁷ Any of the following terms may answer: *demersus*, *effusus* (*in*), *fluens*, *se volutans*, *profluens* (*ad*), *solutus* (*in*). In the translation of the metaphorical terms below we need not be too cautious or too anxious to find exact warrant in classical Latin for our equivalents. Perhaps the light character of the piece will permit the employment of a Greek word; but, though the vocabulary of the 'Birds' is tempting, this is perhaps better avoided altogether.

CXCVIII

The flourishing state of trade and manufactures ¹ is displayed in proof of the unequalled excellence of the British constitution, ² without reflecting that a temporary decay will support with equal force an opposite conclusion. For if we owe our present prosperity to the nature of government, our recent calamities must be ³ traced to the same source, and that constitution which is now affirmed to be the best must be allowed during the American war to have been the worst. ⁴ That there is a connection between ⁵ commercial prosperity and the nature of a government, must be admitted; but its operation is gradual and slow, not felt from year to year, but to be traced by the comparison of one age and country with another. But ⁶ allowing that our wealth may increase along with the ⁷ increase of abuses, the nation, we hope, is not so sordid as to look upon wealth as the supreme good; however well that idea may correspond with the views of a ministry who seem determined to leave us no other. Freedom as it animates industry, by securing its reward, opens a path to wealth; but if that wealth be suffered to ⁸ debase a people, and render them venal and dependent, it will silently conduct them back again to misery and depression. ⁹ Rome was never more opulent than on the eve of departing liberty. Her vast wealth was a sediment that remained in the reflux of the tide. —ROBERT HALL, *On the Causes of the present Discontent*.

¹ Give the sentence a 'personal' turn. ² 23. ³ (96) *eadem est causa*. ⁴ 78, 1. ⁵ 122 a, 1 b. ⁶ 46 or 47 b. ⁷ 63, 3 or 4. ⁸ *corrumpo*. ⁹ 'As for instance (*Velut*, 86) of Rome, which city never at any time was more opulent, as though (*tamquam*), the tide of her liberty ebbing, the vast riches had been left behind.'

CXCIX -

¹The most capital advantage an enlightened people can enjoy is the liberty of discussing every subject ²which can fall within the compass of the human mind ; ³while this remains freedom will flourish ; but should it be lost or impaired, its principles will neither be well understood nor long retained. To render the magistrate a judge of truth, and ⁴engage his authority in the suppression of opinions, ⁵shows an inattention to the nature and design of political society. ⁶When a nation forms a government, ⁷it is not wisdom, but *power* which they place in the hand of the magistrate ; from whence it follows, his concern is only with those objects which *power* can operate upon. On this account ⁸the administration of justice, the protection of property, and the defence of every member of the community from violence and outrage ⁹fall naturally within the province of the civil ruler, ¹⁰for these may all be accomplished by *power* ; but an attempt to distinguish ¹¹truth from error, and ¹²to countenance one set of opinions to the prejudice of another, is to apply power in a manner mischievous and absurd.

ROBERT HALL, *On the Right of Public Discussion.*

¹ (58, 8 ; 61, 16) *Hoc praecepto iure utuntur . . . ut liceat.* ² 'can embrace in thought.' ³ (85, 2) *quo salvo . . . , amisso* (90, 2). ⁴ *uti.* ⁵ (58, 3) *est parum intelligentis.* ⁶ (85) 'when men join together into a state.' ⁷ 61, 16. ⁸ (58, 7) *ius dicere.* ⁹ (58, 3) 'is naturally (the duty) of.' ¹⁰ 36 ; 37. ¹¹ 'right from wrong opinions.' ¹² 'postponing these, to uphold those.'

CC

Pain has the same efficacy and use to set us on work that pleasure has, we being as ready to employ our faculties to avoid that as to pursue this ; only this is worth our consideration, that pain is often produced by the same objects and ideas that produce pleasure in us. This near conjunction,

which makes us often feel pain in the sensations where we expected pleasure, gives us new occasion of admiring ¹the wisdom and goodness of our Maker; who, designing the preservation of our being, has annexed pain ²to the application of many things to our bodies, to warn us of the harm that they will do, and as advices to withdraw from them. ³But He, not designing our preservation barely, but the preservation of every part and organ in its perfection, hath, in many cases, annexed pain to those very ideas which delight us. ⁴Thus heat, that is very agreeable to us in one degree, by a little greater increase of it, proves no ordinary torment; and the most pleasant of all sensible objects, light itself, if there be too much of it, if increased ⁵beyond a due proportion to our eyes, causes a very painful sensation. Which is wisely and favourably so ordered by nature that when any object does by the vehemency of its operation disorder the instruments of sensation, whose structures cannot but be very nice and delicate, we might by the pain be warned to withdraw before the organ be quite put out of order, and so be unfitted for its proper function for the future.—LOCKE.

¹ (58, 8; 105) tr. 'Maker' by *natura*. ² 58, 2, 5. ³ *idem*; compare the second passage given under 91. ⁴ (86) *Iam*. ⁵ (55, 6) 'beyond what the eyes are able to bear,' or 61, 17.

CCI

Varro, the most learned of the Romans, thought, since ¹nature is the same wherever we go, that this single circumstance was sufficient to remove all objections to change of place, ²taken by itself, and stripped of the other inconveniences which attend exile. ³M. Brutus thought it enough that those who go into banishment cannot be hindered from carrying their virtue along with them. ⁴Now, if any one judge that each of these comforts is in itself insufficient, he must, however, confess that both of them, joined together, are

able to remove the terrors of exile. For what trifles must all we leave behind us be esteemed, in comparison of the two most precious things which men can enjoy, ⁵ and which, we are sure, will follow us wherever we turn our steps, the same nature and our proper virtue. Believe me, the providence of God has established such an order ⁶ in the world, that of all which belongs to us the least valuable parts can alone fall under the will of others. Whatever is best is ⁷ safest, lies ⁸ out of the reach of human power, ⁹ can neither be given nor taken away. Such is this great and beautiful work of nature, ¹⁰ the world. Such the mind of man, which contemplates and admires the world whereof it makes the noblest part. These are inseparably ours, and as long as we remain in one we shall enjoy the other.—BOLINGBROKE, *Reflections upon Exile*.

¹ 'there is the same aspect of nature.' ² 'if this alone is considered, the other inconveniences of exile being removed.' ³ 85.

⁴ *Quodsi.* ⁵ 68. ⁶ *rerum.* ⁷ 115. ⁸ *extra.* ⁹ 88, 2.
¹⁰ *mundus.*

CCII

This, however strange it may seem, ¹ is that which every day's experience confirms; and will not, perhaps, appear so wonderful, if we ² consider the ways and steps by which it is brought about, how really it may come to pass that doctrines that have been derived from no better original than the superstition of ³ a nurse, or the authority of ³ an old woman, may by length of time and consent of neighbours grow up to the dignity of principles in religion or morality. For such who are careful to principle children well, instil into the unwary and as yet unprejudiced understanding (⁴ for white paper receives any characters) those doctrines they would have them retain and profess. ⁵ These being taught them as soon as they have any apprehension; and still as they grow up, confirmed to them, either by the open profession or tacit consent of all they have to do with, or at least by those of whose

wisdom, knowledge, and piety, they have an opinion, who never suffer these propositions to be otherwise mentioned, but as the basis and foundation on which they build their religion and manners, come by these means to have their reputation of unquestionable, self-evident, and innate ⁷ truths.—LOCKE.

¹ 61, 16. ² 60, 13. ³ 101. ⁴ Change this into a formal simile (99, 2).
 ⁵ 85, 2. ⁶ 93. ⁷ 61, 10.

CCIII

¹ But, it will be asked, Is there not a wide difference between private property and ² corporate property? Has not the State a right to deal with corporate property which it has not to deal with private property? ³ In strictness there is no difference as to the right itself, but there is a difference of great importance as to the exercise of that right. That is to say, ⁴ the cases in which it is just and expedient to meddle with corporate property come much oftener than the cases in which it is just and expedient to meddle with private property. ⁵ In a settled state of things, the State is hardly ever called on to meddle with private property, except either at the request of those concerned or in certain well-understood cases. ⁶ The cases where it is just and expedient to meddle with corporate property come much oftener. But the inherent right is the same in both cases, and of the justice and expediency of the act in either case the State itself is the only judge. And when we talk of the wide difference between private property and corporate property, it is well to remember that, if a corporation is an artificial creation of the law, any control exercised by a man over his goods after he is dead is an artificial creation of the law just as much.—E. A. FREEMAN.

¹ *Hic fortasse quaeret aliquis.* ² *publicus*: or it may be found more convenient afterwards to have used the term *collegium*. ³ (78)
 'But if we look indeed at the right itself, there is no difference at all; there is a great difference,' etc. ⁴ *saepius fit ut* . . . ⁵ 85.
⁶ 'And though more often it is just . . ., yet in either case,' etc.

CCIV

¹ Moral conduct differs from immoral conduct in the same manner and in a like degree. The conscientious man is exact in all his transactions. He supplies a ² precise weight for a specified sum; ³ he gives a definite quality in fulfilment of understanding; he pays the full amount he bargained to do. In times as well as in quantities his acts answer completely to anticipation. If he has made a business contract he is ⁴ to the day; if an appointment, he is to the minute. Similarly in respect to truth; his statements correspond accurately with the facts. ⁵ It is thus, too, in his family life. He maintains marital relations that are definite in contrast with relations that result from breach of the marriage-contract; and as a father, fitting his behaviour with care to the nature of each child and to the occasion, he avoids the too much and the too little of praise or blame, reward or penalty. Nor is it otherwise ⁶ in his miscellaneous acts. ⁷ To say that he deals equitably with those he employs, whether they behave well or ill, is to say that he adjusts his acts to their deserts; and to say that he is judicious in his charities is to say that he portions out his aid with discrimination instead of distributing it indiscriminately to good and bad, as do those who have no adequate sense of their ⁸ social responsibilities.

HERBERT SPENCER.

¹ 'In the same way and degree (*gradus*) acting rightly (58, 7) and wrongly differ from one another (126 b, 2).' ² *certus*. ³ 'and that (124) of the same kind as has been agreed upon.' ⁴ 122 b. ⁵ 'Now (*Iam* : 86) at home (as) husband so far from (*adeo non* : 21) infringing . . . , he discharges . . . : (as) father,' etc. ⁶ *in ceteris rebus*. ⁷ 'In this fact that he deals . . . , he adjusts,' etc. (15). ⁸ *officia*.

CCV

¹ Hence naturally flows ² the great variety of opinions concerning ³ moral rules, which are to be found among men, according to the different sorts of happiness they have a prospect of, or propose to themselves : which could not be if ³ practical principles were innate, and imprinted in our minds ⁴ immediately by the hand of God. ⁵ I grant the existence of God is so many ways manifest, and the obedience we owe Him so congruous to the light of reason, that a great part of mankind give testimony to the law of nature ; ⁶ but yet I think it must be allowed that several moral rules may receive from mankind a very general approbation, ⁷ without either knowing or admitting the true ground of morality ; which can only be the will and law of a God who sees men in the dark, has in his hand rewards and punishments, and power enough to call to account the proudest offender. For God having by an inseparable connexion joined virtue and publick happiness together, and made the practice thereof necessary to the preservation of society, and visibly beneficial to all with whom the virtuous man has to do ; it is no wonder that every one should not only allow but recommend and magnify those rules to others, from whose observance of them he is sure to reap advantage to himself.—LOCKE.

¹ *Hinc fit ut.* ² 'different men hold different opinions (61, 10) . . . according as different men . . . follow after . . . different kinds of happiness.' ³ 122 a, 1 b. ⁴ 125. ⁵ (58, 7 ; 78) *Esse quidem Deum.*
⁶ *possunt tamen probare.* ⁷ 23.

CCVI

¹ The more rude and wild the state of society, the more general and violent is the impulse received from ² poetry and music. ³ The muse, ⁴ whose effusions are the amusement of a very small part of a polished nation, records, in the lays

⁵ of inspiration, the history, the laws, the very religion of ⁶ savages. Where the pen and the press are wanting, the flow of numbers impressed upon the memory of posterity the deeds and sentiments of their forefathers. ⁷ Verse is naturally connected with music; and, among a rude people, the union is seldom broken. By this natural alliance the lays are more easily ⁸ retained by the reciter, and produce upon his audience a more impressive effect. Hence, there has hardly been found to exist a nation so brutishly rude as not to listen with enthusiasm to the songs of their bards, ⁹ recounting the exploits of their forefathers, recording their laws and moral precepts, or hymning the praises of their deities. But ¹⁰ where the feelings are ¹¹ frequently stretched to their highest pitch by the vicissitudes of a life of danger and military adventure, this predisposition of a savage people to admire their own rude poetry is heightened, and its tone becomes peculiarly determined.—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

¹ 'The ruder . . . men are, the more violently are they as a body (*universi*) affected.' ² 58, 3. ³ 'For poets . . . ' ⁴ 'whose trifles (*nugae*) please . . . ' ⁵ 'in songs, as it were divinely inspired.' ⁶ Emphasis (61, 16; 63, 3) must be laid on this word, which contrasts with 'polished nation.' ⁷ 72. ⁸ *memoria servantur*. ⁹ 'in which are recounted.' ¹⁰ *utcumque*. ¹¹ *soleo*.

CCVII

¹ Dissipation of mind and ² length of time ³ are the remedies to which the greatest part of mankind trust in their afflictions. But the first of these works a temporary, the second a slow effect; and such are unworthy of a wise man. Are we to fly from ourselves that we may fly from our misfortunes, and ⁴ fondly to imagine that the disease is cured because we find means to get some moments of respite from pain? Or shall we expect from time, ⁵ the physician of brutes, a lingering and uncertain deliverance? ⁶ Shall we wait to be happy till we can forget that we are miserable, and owe to the weakness

of our faculties a tranquillity which ought to be the effect of their strength? ⁷ Far otherwise. ⁸ Let us set all our past and present afflictions at once before our eyes. Let us resolve to overcome them, instead of flying from them, or wearing out the sense of them by long and ignominious patience. Instead of palliating remedies, let us ⁹ use the incision knife and the caustic, search the wound to the bottom, and work an immediate and radical cure.—BOLINGBROKE.

¹ *avocatio*. ² *dies*. ³ (78) 'while the greater part trust . . . , this is a temporary, that a slow means of healing' (107). ⁴ 'cherish a vain hope.' ⁵ 'which cures brutes.' ⁶ Use *ante* . . . *quam*. ⁷ 87. ⁸ 'Our . . . afflictions having been set . . . , let us resolve so to overcome the pain as not (23) to fly from it (123 a, 2) or deaden it . . . ' ⁹ 'cut . . . burn.'

CCVIII

¹ They who ² reason from ³ the immaterial nature of the soul, and from its being ⁴ infused into the body, as also ⁵ from its method of operation, which is confined to none of the ⁶ bodily organs, may easily prevail with those who believe these principles, to admit the truth of the conclusion they draw from them: but if they meet with any who obstinately deny the premises, or even doubt the truth of them, it will be a matter of difficulty to support such hypothesis with clear and conclusive arguments. ⁷ If the soul of man was acquainted with itself, and fully understood ⁸ its own nature, if it could investigate ⁹ the nature of its union with the body, and the method of its operation therein, we doubt not but from thence it might draw these and other such arguments of its immortality; but since shut up ¹⁰ in the prison of a ¹¹ dark body, it is so little known, and so incomprehensible to itself, and since in so great obscurity, it can scarce, if at all, discover the least of its own ¹² features and complexion, it would be a very difficult matter for it to say much concerning its internal nature, or ¹³ nicely determine the methods of its operation.

¹⁴ But it would be surprising if any one should deny that the very operations it performs, especially those of the more noble and exalted sort, are strong marks and conspicuous characters of its excellence and immortality.—LEIGHTON.

¹ 78. ² 'argue from this that . . . ' ³ 'the soul can neither be seen (*cerni*) nor touched (*tangi*). ' ⁴ *inspiro*. ⁵ 'that its action is confined . . . ' ⁶ 122 a, 1 b. ⁷ *Iam* (86). ⁸ (58, 8) *qualis ipsa esset*. ⁹ 58, 8. ¹⁰ (91 ; 99, 2) 'as (*tamquam*) in a prison, so in the dark . . . body.' ¹¹ *caecus*. ¹² *lineamenta . . . color*. ¹³ *accurate*. ¹⁴ (86) *Quamquam*.

CCIX

This being the ¹ measure of all friendships ; ² they all partake of excellency, according as they are ³ fitted to this measure : a friend may be counselled well enough, though his friend be not the wisest man in the world ; and he may be pleased in his ⁴ society, though he be not the best natured man in the world ; but still it must be that something excellent is, or is ⁵ apprehended, ⁶ or else it can be no worthy friendship ; because the choice is imprudent and foolish. Choose for your friend him that is wise and good, and secret and just, ingenuous and honest ; and in those things ⁷ which have a latitude, use your own liberty ; but in such things ⁸ which consist in an indivisible point make no abatements ; ⁹ that is, you must not choose him to be your friend that is not honest and secret, just and true to a tittle ; but if he be wise at all, and useful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be ashamed to own your own friendships ; ¹⁰ though sometimes you may be ashamed of some imperfections in your ¹¹ friend.—TAYLOR.

¹ *norma, regula, iudicium*. ² 128 ; 55, 4. ³ *respondeo*. ⁴ *colloquium*. ⁵ *in spe esse, or, sperari, or, 'is conceived.'* ⁶ 51, 5. ⁷ *ubi licet*. ⁸ 'which depend upon a single condition' ; or, *ubi simplex est necessitudo*. ⁹ *Hoc volo dicere*. ¹⁰ 90, 2. ¹¹ 63, 3.

CCX

¹ Those thus employed may in many cases have been, although too often they certainly were not, men who meant to do their duty seriously and well; but, unfortunately ² governing is not a duty which can be done well by wishing to do it well. The best had little to rely on, but their good sense and feeling. The ³ average ones had to go by traditional expedients and customs ⁴ which countenanced ⁵ every remissness, and sanctioned harshness as its remedy, or insincerity and bad faith as its escape; and, ⁶ like the average of men elsewhere, they saved themselves pains, which they were not forced to take. ⁷ Then, when their routine betrayed them, and their mismanagement caused mischief, ⁸ with the perplexity and vexation of men who know that they do not understand what they are about, they ⁹ took the shortest and roughest method to bring the crisis to an end, ¹⁰ and thought that they could save their credit, as they did ¹¹ perhaps their ¹² consciences, by laying all their blame on the evil disposition of their subjects. The last expedient ever thought of was to investigate and try to remove the causes of evil. Possibly enough they did not know how.—R. W. CHURCH.

¹ (78) *Potuerunt illi quidem . . . voluisse.* ² 'it is not sufficient for governing well that a man should merely wish to do so.' ³ 60, 9.
⁴ 'those who employed which (67) while they countenanced . . ., either remedied it by cruelty or allowed it to be hid by . . . fraud.'
⁵ 60, 9. ⁶ *ut fere fit.* ⁷ 72. ⁸ 55, 2. ⁹ *proximam . . . ingressi viam.* ¹⁰ *ut existimationi suae consulerent*; or, *salva existimatione.* ¹¹ 12. ¹² *religio.*

CCXI

¹ Wisdom ² instructs us to examine, compare, and rightly to value the objects that court our affections and challenge our care; and thereby regulates our passions and moderates our

endeavours, which ³ begets a pleasant serenity and peaceful tranquillity of mind. ⁴ For when, being deluded with false shows, and relying upon ill grounded presumptions, we highly esteem, passionately affect, and eagerly pursue things of little worth in themselves, or concernment to us ; as we unhand-somely ⁵ prostitute our affection, and prodigally mis-spend our time, and vainly lose our labour, so the event not answering our expectation, our minds thereby are confounded, disturbed, and distempered. But when, guided by right reason, we conceive great esteem of, and zealously are enamoured with, and vigorously strive to attain, things of excellent worth and weighty consequence, ⁶ the conscience of having well-placed our affections and well employed our pains, and the experience of fruits corresponding to our hopes, ravishes our minds with ⁷ inexpressible content. And so it is ; present appearance and vulgar conceit ordinarily impose upon our fancies, disguising things with a deceitful ⁸ varnish, and representing those that are vainest with the greatest advantage ; whilst the noblest objects, being of a more subtle and spiritual nature, like fairest jewels enclosed in a ⁹ homely box, avoid the notice of gross sense, and pass undiscerned by us. But the light of wisdom, as it unmasks specious imposture, and bereaves it of its false colours, so it penetrates into the retirements of true excellency, and reveals its genuine lustre.

—ISAAC BARROW.

¹ 72. ² 'by persuading us to.' ³ *pario*. ⁴ (78) *Ut enim . . . sic*.
⁵ Literally, or, *vendito*. ⁶ Literally, or, 'since we are conscious to ourselves that we . . .'
⁷ 118. ⁸ (93) *fucus*. ⁹ *vilis*.

CCXII

That is the truest wisdom of a man which doth most conduce to the happiness of life. ¹ For wisdom as it refers to action, lies in the proposal of a right end, and the choice of the most proper means to attain it ; which end doth not

refer to any one part of a man's life, but to the ²whole as taken together. He, therefore, ³only deserves the name of a wise man, not that considers how to be rich and ⁴great when he is poor and ⁴mean, nor how to be well when he is sick, nor how to escape a present danger, nor how to compass a particular design; but he that considers the whole course of his life together, and what is fit for him to make the end of it, and by what means he may best enjoy the happiness of it. ⁵I confess it is one great part of a wise man never to propose to himself too much happiness here; for whoever doth so is sure to find himself deceived, and consequently is so much more miserable as he fails in his greatest expectations. But since God did not make men ⁶on purpose to be miserable, ⁷since there is a great difference as to men's conditions, since that difference depends very much on their own choice, ⁸there is a great deal of reason to place true wisdom in the choice of those things which tend most to the comfort and happiness of life.—STILLINGFLEET.

¹ *Sapientissime enim is aget, qui sibi . . . proposuerit : or In agendo enim tota (or Tota enim, si de agendo sermo est) in hoc posita est, or, vere sapientis est.* ² *universus.* ³ Literally, or, *demum.* ⁴ *rex . . . servus.* ⁵ *Mihi quidem hoc potissimum sapientis esse videtur, or, Equidem credo.* ⁶ (30) *idcirco, eo consilio, etc.* ⁷ 68. ⁸ 11.

CCXIII

¹ There is scarce a thinking man in the world, who is involved in the business of it, but lives under a secret impatience of the hurry and fatigue he suffers, and has formed a resolution to fix himself, one time or other, in such a state as is suitable to the end of his being. You hear men every day in conversation profess that all the honour, power, and riches which they propose to themselves cannot give satisfaction enough to reward them for ²half the anxiety they undergo ³in the pursuit or possession of them. While men are in this temper, (which happens very frequently) how inconsistent are

they with themselves! They are wearied with the toil they bear,⁴ but cannot find in their hearts to relinquish it; retirement is what they want, but they cannot betake themselves to it; while they pant after⁵ shade and covert, they still affect to appear in⁶ the most glittering scenes of life: but sure this is but just as reasonable as if a man should call for more lights, when he has a mind to go to sleep.—*Spectator*, No. 27.

¹ 'There is almost no one of mortals immersed in business (*implicitus negotiis*) but (26), provided he thinks of the matter, it so wearies him inwardly at heart to endure (*tolerare*) so busy (*operosus*) and laborious a life that,' etc. ² Literally, or reverse the expression (129 a). ³ *dum*. ⁴ Use *idem*. ⁵ *umbra et secessus*. ⁶ *volunt quasi in sole et splendore conspici*.

CCXIV

But I take this to be the rule in the case, that when we¹ fix any infamy upon deceased persons, it should not be done² out of hatred to the dead, but out of love and charity to the living, that the curses which only remain in men's thoughts, and dare not come forth against tyrants³ (because they are tyrants) whilst they are so, may at least be for ever settled and engraven upon their⁴ memories,⁵ to deter all others from the like wickedness, which else in the time of their foolish prosperity, the flattery of their own hearts, and of other men's tongues, would not suffer them to perceive. Ambition⁶ is so subtle a tempter, and the corruption of human nature so susceptible of the temptation, that a man can hardly resist it,⁷ be he ever so much forewarned of the evil consequences, much less if he find not only the concurrence of the present, but the approbation, too, of following ages, which have the liberty to judge more freely.—COWLEY.

¹ *ignominia notare*. ² 35, or 60, 10. ³ (35) *propterea (ob eam rem) quod*. ⁴ *monumenta*. ⁵ 20. ⁶ 'entices (*delinio*) with blandishments so subtle.' ⁷ 'however much (*quamvis, quantumvis*) forewarned . . . , much less (31) supported by the concurrence . . . , or, 'much less the present approving,' etc.

CCXV

The mischief of ¹tyranny is too great, even in the shortest time that it can continue; it is endless and insupportable, ²if the example be to reign too, and if a ³Lambert must be invited to follow the steps of a Cromwell, as well by the voice of honour as by the sight of power and riches. Though it may seem to some fantastically, yet was it wisely done of the Syracusans, to implead with the forms of their ordinary justice, to condemn and destroy even the statues of all their tyrants. ⁴If it were possible to cut them out of all histories, and to extinguish their very names, I am of opinion that it ought to be done; but since they have left behind them too deep ⁵wounds to be ever ⁶closed up without a scar, at least let us ⁷set such a mark upon their memory, that men of the same wicked inclinations may be no less affrighted with their lasting ignominy, than enticed by their momentary glories.—COWLEY.

¹ (58, 3; 78) 'While tyrants do too much harm . . . , the evil is endless . . . ' ² *si exemplo parebitur.* ³ *Sulla . . . Marius.* ⁴ *Puto equidem.* ⁵ 93. ⁶ *obducere.* ⁷ *Use inurere.*

CCXVI

By far the greater part of the suffering and crime which exist at this moment in civilised Europe ¹arises simply from people not understanding this truism—not knowing that produce or wealth is eternally connected by the laws ²of heaven and earth with resolute labour; but hoping in some way to cheat or abrogate this everlasting law of life, and to feed where they have not furrowed, and be warm where they have not woven. ³I repeat, nearly all our misery and crime result from this one ⁴misapprehension. The law of nature is, that a certain quantity of work is necessary to produce a certain quantity of good, of any kind whatever. If you want knowledge, ⁵you must toil for it; if food, you must toil for it; and if pleasure, you must toil for it. ⁶But men do not acknowledge this law, or strive to evade it, hoping to get their knowledge,

and food, and pleasure for nothing; and in this effort they either fail of getting them, and remain ignorant and miserable, or they obtain them by making other men work for their benefit; and then ⁷ they are tyrants and robbers.—RUSKIN.

¹ 'arises (98) from this, that, so far from (21) men understanding the truism (*tritum illud*) that . . . , they hope,' etc. ² 111, a. ³ *inquam*. ⁴ *opinionis error*. ⁵ 59, 3; 84, 3. ⁶ 72. ⁷ 'they come out as': *exsisto*.

CORRESPONDENCE

CCXVII

SYDNEY SMITH TO MRS. MEYNELL.

COMBE FLOREY, July 13.

¹ The thought was sudden, so was the execution. ² I saw I was making no progress in London, and I resolved to run the risk of the journey. I performed it with pain, and found on my arrival at my own door, my new carriage completely disabled. ³ I called on no one, but went away without beat of drum. I know nothing of public affairs. I have no pleasure of thinking of them, and turn my face the other way, ⁴ deeply regretting the abrupt and unpleasant termination of Lord Grey's political life.

I am making a slow recovery; hardly yet able to walk across the room, nor to put on a ⁵ Christian shoe. On Monday I shall have been ill for a month. ⁶ Perhaps it is a ⁷ perquisite of my time of life, to have the gout or some formidable illness. We enter and quit the world in pain! but let us be just, however; ⁸ I find my eyesight much improved by gout, and I am not low-spirited.

Pray let me hear from you from time to time, as you shall from me.

¹ *Dictum*, or *Decretum* (*ac*) *factum* (61, 2). ² 61, 12. ³ 'I called on no one: I did not sound the retreat, but retired from the position silently.' ⁴ (73) 'That the career of —'s life in the republic has been so suddenly and unluckily cut short, pains me very much.' ⁵ Perhaps *humanus*, or some phrase including *homo*. ⁶ 12. ⁷ *hoc nostrae aetati peculiare sit*. ⁸ (61, 12) 'the gout has at least sharpened the sight of my eyes.'



CCXVIII

¹ My way of life here is very uniform and by no means disagreeable. ² I have all the forenoon in the Secretary's house, from ten till three, when there arrive from time to time messengers that bring me all the secrets of the kingdom. I am seldom hurried; but ³ have leisure at intervals to take up a book, or write a private letter, or converse with a friend that may call for me; and from dinner to bed-time is all my own. ⁴ If you add to this that the person with whom I have ⁵ the chief, if not only, transactions, is the most reasonable, equal-tempered, and ⁶ gentleman-like man imaginable, you will certainly think I have no reason to complain; and I am far from complaining. I only shall not regret when my duty is over; because to me ⁷ the situation can lead to nothing, at least in all probability; and reading, and ⁸ sauntering, and lounging, and dozing, which I call thinking, is my ⁹ supreme happiness.—¹⁰ I mean my full contentment.—HUME.

¹ 61, 5. ² 'The whole morning (I am) at the Secretary's (house), whither from time to time, from the fourth to the ninth hour are brought messages,' etc. ³ *vaco legendo*, etc. ⁴ *Huc si addideris quod . . .* ⁵ *vel . . . vel.* ⁶ *humanissimus*: or have recourse to Greek. ⁷ 'there is hope of nothing, as it seems to me, beyond.' ⁸ *cessare, nihil agere, dormire.* ⁹ *summum bonum.* ¹⁰ 'or rather such things most fully content me.'

CCXIX

SYDNEY SMITH TO ARTHUR KINGLAKE.

I am much obliged ¹ by the present of your brother's book. ² I am convinced ³ digestion is the great secret of life; and that character, talents, virtues, and qualities are powerfully affected by beef, mutton, pie-crust, and rich soups. I have often thought I could ⁴ feed or starve men into many virtues and vices, and affect them more powerfully with my instruments ⁵ of cookery than Timotheus could do formerly with his lyre.

¹ (15) *Quod . . . miseras* (or, *misisti*), *gratissimum erat* (est). ² (85) *Persuassimum enim habeo.* ³ 'that for living it is of much importance

whether you digest your food or not' (13). ⁴ Turn the sentence and use *edendo*, *esuriendo*. ⁵ *coquorum* (58, 3) *vasis*.

CCXX

You forgot to mention ¹ your address, else I should have sooner acknowledged the favour of your letter, for which I am much obliged, though the news it contained ² had nothing good but the manner of telling it. I had much rather write you a letter of congratulation than of comfort; and yet I must needs tell you for your comfort that I apprehend you miscarry ³ by having too many friends. ⁴ We often see a ⁵ man with one only at his back pushed on and making his way, while another is embarrassed in a crowd of well-wishers. The best of it is, your merits will not be measured by your success. ⁶ It is an old remark, that the race is not always to the swift. But at present who wins it matters little: for all are like soon to be at par, if your countryman continues to carry on his scheme with the same policy and success he has hitherto done. ⁷ The accounts you send agree with what I hear from other parts: they are all alike dismal. Reserve yourself, however, for future times, and mind the main chance. I would say, shun late hours, and bring back a good stock of health and spirits ⁸ to grace our ⁹ little parties, where we hope, ere it be long, to see you and the sun returned together. My wife, ¹⁰ who values herself on being in the number of your friends, is extremely obliged for the Italian ¹¹ psalms you have procured, and desires me to tell you that the more you can procure, the more she shall be obliged. We join in wishing you many happy new years, health, and success.—BERKELEY.

¹ *locum unde dabas.* ² *nulla re commendabatur nisi scribendi genere.* ³ *tibi nimiam amicorum multitudinem adversari:* or, 58, 8. ⁴ *Saepe enim fit* (60, 12) *ut . . .* ⁵ 'that this man, one only pushing him from behind, holds on his course, that man is hindered by the crowd itself of his backers (*favescentes*).'⁶ *Tritum est illud* (61, 10). ⁷ *Eadem* (61, 12) *mihi nuntias.* ⁸ 'that you may shine again in.'⁹ *convivia modica, or, circuli.* ¹⁰ *in hoc se iactat quod . . .* ¹¹ *modi.*

CCXXI

SYDNEY SMITH TO ROBERT SMITH.

It seems to me a ¹ long time since ² I heard from you. Pray write to me, and if you are vexed, or uneasy, or dispirited, do not be too proud to say so.

³ I see you have spoken again. If you said what you had to say ⁴ without a fresh attack of nervousness, this is all I care about. If the body does not play you these tricks, I have no fear of the mind. ⁵ By the bye, you will laugh at me, but I am convinced a working senator should lead a life like an athlete. I wish you would let me send you a horse, and that you would ride every morning ten or fifteen miles before breakfast, and fling yourself into a profuse perspiration. ⁶ No man ever stopped in a speech that had perspired copiously that day. ⁷ Do you disdain ⁸ the assistance of notes?

⁹ I am going on prosperously with my buildings, but am not yet out of sight of land. We most earnestly hope nothing will prevent you this year from coming down into Yorkshire. I have learnt to ride backwards and forwards to my ¹⁰ living since I saw you, by which means I do not sleep away from home; and I have found so good a manager of my accounts, that one day a week is sufficient for me to give up to my buildings. ¹¹ When you have done anything that pleases yourself, write me word; it will give me most unfeigned pleasure. Whether you turn out a consummate orator or not will neither increase nor diminish my admiration for your talents, or my respect for your character; but when a man is strong, it is pleasant ¹² to make that strength respected;—and you will be happier for it if you can do so (as I have no doubt you will soon).

¹ *longum esse ex quo . . .* ² 'letters from you had been given to me.' ³ 'I hear (*accipio*) that a speech has again been made by you.'

⁴ 'without being upset' (21). ⁵ *I am (86) ridiculum est, sed.* ⁶ 'Only let him have perspired . . ., no one ever . . .'; or, 'no one ever . . .,

who at least (*qui quidem, qui modo*) . . . ' ⁷ *An tu* . . . ? ⁸ 'to aid memory out of a note-book (*libellus*) ?' ; or, 'do you despise note-books ?' ⁹ 'With regard to (*De*, or *16*) the buildings, we are making sail but have not yet sunk the land.' ¹⁰ Say 'business.' ¹¹ *74*, 1. ¹² *efficere ut aliis videatur*.

CCXXII

GEORGE HERBERT TO SIR J. D.

SIR,—Though I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tire me to find out ¹ variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so ; but I possess it not : and therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses, but a constancy of obedience, ² only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests ; for, since your favours ³ come a-horse-back, ⁴ there is reason that ⁵ my desires should go a-foot ; neither do I make any question, ⁶ but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is everyway fit for me, and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner, your most obedient servant.

¹ 'so many ways of thanking as you have of conferring favours,' *quamquam* (86). ³ 'are carried (*adferuntur*) on a horse.' ⁴ 11. ⁵ 'that my wishes (*vota*) should be humble (*pedestria*).'⁶ 20.

CHARACTERISATION

CCXXIII

¹ He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of ² light brown, very thick-set in his youth ; his eyes of a lively gray, well-shaped, and full of life and vigour ; his visage thin, his mouth well-made, and his lips very ruddy

and graceful, although the nether chap ⁸ shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming; his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory; his chin was ⁴ something long, and the mould of his face; his forehead was not very high; his nose was ⁵ raised and sharp; but ⁶ withal he had a most amiable countenance, which ⁷ carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness; his skin was smooth and white; his legs and feet excellently well-made; ⁸ he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him; he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; ⁹ he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; he was of a tender ¹⁰ constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings, and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions; ¹¹ he was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby, two or three years after the war ended, but else, for the latter half of his life was healthy though tender.

MRS. HUTCHINSON, *Description of Col. Hutchinson.*

¹ For remarks on the style see piece LXXVI. ² *sufflavus*.

³ Perhaps, 'was more projecting than.' ⁴ Use the comparative.

⁵ See piece LXXVI. ⁶ *idem*. ⁷ *inerat magnanimum (generosum) quoddam . . .* ⁸ *summa corporis habilitas*; or, *corpus ad omnem exercitationem aptum*.

⁹ 'Rather nimble than strong,' or literally.

¹⁰ *valetudo*. ¹¹ *articulorum doloribus laborabat*.

CCXXIV

¹ The death of General Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. ² He inherited from nature an animating fervour of sentiment, an ³ intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated ⁴ him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm.

⁵ This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. ⁶ Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; ⁷ the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier; there was a ⁸ sublimity in his genius ⁹ which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been excited to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he ¹⁰ would without doubt have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity.—SMOLLETT.

¹ 'Wolfe, whose death was considered (*haberi*) as a public loss (*damnum*), all lamented.' ² (85) *Huic natura insitum erat.* ³ *ingenium perspicax*, or, *acerrimum.* ⁴ 123 a, 2 b. ⁵ 67. ⁶ 'so brave that he was frightened by no danger'; or, 'braver than (55, 6) to regard dangers.' ⁷ Literally, or by the verbs 'imitated,' . . . 'loved.' ⁸ *sublime quoddam.* ⁹ *supra quam ceteris ingeniis conceditur*; or, *supra quam ceteris volitare (ferri) licitum est.* ¹⁰ 131, 3.

CCXXV

He had ¹ a splendid presence. ² His fine black hair, on which he prided himself, and which when it turned gray was dyed, ³ to keep up the appearance of youth, was magnificently dressed. ⁴ On one occasion, when he sprang out of a bath where assassins had surprised him, even his naked figure was so majestic, that they fled before him. ⁵ Nor was he destitute of noble qualities, however much obscured by the violence ⁶ of the age, and by the furious, ⁷ almost frenzied, cruelty which despotic power breeds in Eastern potentates. There was a greatness of soul which might have raised him above the petty intriguers by whom he was surrounded. ⁸ His family affections were deep and strong. ⁹ In that time of general dissolution of domestic ties it is refreshing to witness the almost extravagant tenderness with which he founded, in the fervour of his filial love, the city of Antipatris. ¹⁰ In the lucid intervals of the darker days which beset the close of his

career nothing can be more pathetic than his remorse for his domestic crimes, nothing more genuine than his tears of affection for his grandchildren.—STANLEY.

¹ *Summa corporis dignitas.* ² 'His black hair, on the beauty of which he prided himself, was magnificently dressed; as it turned grey too' (*idem*), etc. ³ Literally; or, 'that (*quo*) he might appear the younger.' ⁴ Introduce by *ferunt*, or the like. ⁵ *Nec defuerunt virtutes.* ⁶ *ut in illa aetate.* ⁷ *quasi insanientis.* ⁸ *Amor ad suos.* ⁹ *dissolutis ut illis temporibus . . . vinculis.* ¹⁰ (58, 8) *si quando resipiscebat.*

CCXXVI

¹ More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising than resolute, ² the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason: ³ he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and ⁴ prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. ⁵ In the blaze of prosperity ⁶ his virtues were insensibly tintured with the adjacent vices; ⁷ justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity. ⁸ From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person, till it was swelled and disfigured by ⁹ intemperance; ¹⁰ and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affection of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold. In his civil and religious processions through the city he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun ¹¹ with a circle of stars, a dove ¹¹ with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; ¹² a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed

his person ; a troop of horse preceded ¹³ his march ; and their cymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.—GIBBON.

^{1, 2} Reverse these two sentences. ³ 'he exaggerated his hopes and fears ten times more (129) than the fact warranted (61, 17).'
⁴ (78) 'as he could not have won (*occupo*) the kingdom by prudence, so he was not able to retain it.' ⁵ 'In the height.' ⁶ 'His virtues escaped his notice, having been mixed with the kindred vices.'
⁷ 'So that he was at once (*idem*) just and cruel.' ⁸ 'His body, handsome by the gift of nature, was afterwards (*mox*),' etc. ⁹ 'too much luxury.'
¹⁰ 'he concealed (*imperf.*) a disposition prone to laughing (or, simply, *levitas animi*), pretending . . . , when made magistrate . . .'
¹¹ *sideribus cinctus . . . olivam gerens* (60, 10).
¹² *spargebantur nummi aurei et argentei* (94). ¹³ 58.

PART III

NARRATIVE

CCXXVII

But what most called forth the invective of the Flemish orators was the presence of a large body of foreign troops in the country. These troops, like most of the soldiers of that day, who served for plunder quite as much as for pay, had as little respect for the rights or the property of their allies as for those of their enemies. They quartered themselves on the peaceful inhabitants of the country, and obtained full compensation for loss of pay by a system of rapine and extortion that beggared the people, and drove them to desperation. Conflicts with the soldiery occasionally occurred, and in some parts the peasantry even refused to repair the dikes, in order to lay the country under water rather than submit to such outrages. 'How is it,' exclaimed the bold syndic of Ghent, 'that we find foreign soldiers thus quartered on us, in open violation of our liberties? Are not our own troops able to protect us from the dangers of invasion? Must we be ground to the dust by the exactions of these mercenaries in peace, after being burdened with the maintenance of them in war?' These remonstrances were followed by a petition to the throne, signed by members of the other orders as well as the commons, requesting that the king would be graciously pleased to respect the privileges of the nation, and send back the foreign troops to their homes.—PRESCOTT.

CCXXVIII

The feeling of the Cavaliers was widely different. During eighteen years they had, through all vicissitudes, been faithful to the Crown. Having shared the distress of their prince, were they not to share his triumph? Was no distinction to be made between them and the disloyal subject who had fought against his rightful sovereign, who had adhered to Richard Cromwell, and who had never concurred in the restoration of the Stuarts, till it appeared that nothing else could save the nation from the tyranny of the army? Grant that such a man had, by his recent services, fairly earned his pardon. Yet were his services, rendered at the eleventh hour, to be put in comparison with the toils and sufferings of those who had borne the burden and heat of the day? Was he to be ranked with men who had no need of the royal clemency, with men who had, in every part of their lives, merited the royal gratitude? . . . And what interest had the King in gorging his old enemies with prey torn from his old friends? What confidence could be placed in men who had opposed their sovereign, made war on him, imprisoned him, and who, even now, instead of hanging down their heads in shame and contrition, vindicated all that they had done, and seemed to think that they had given an illustrious proof of loyalty by just stopping short of regicide?—MACAULAY.

CCXXIX

He set out by torchlight, with the flower of his soldiers and the best of his elephants; but the way was long, and the country overgrown with wood, and intersected with steep ravines; so that his progress was slow, and at last the lights were burnt out, and the men were continually missing their way. Day broke before they reached their destination; but still the enemy were not aware of their approach till they had

surmounted the heights above the Roman camp, and were descending to attack it from the vantage ground. Then Curius led out his troops to oppose them ; and the nature of the ground gave the Romans a great advantage over the heavy armed Greek infantry, as soon as the attempt to surprise them had failed. 'But the action seems to have been decided by an accident ; for one of Pyrrhus' elephants was wounded, and running wild among its own men, threw them into disorder ; nor could they offer a long resistance, being almost exhausted with the fatigue of their night march. They were repulsed with loss ; two elephants were killed, and eight, being forced into impracticable ground from which there was no outlet, were surrendered to the Romans by their drivers.—ARNOLD.

CCXXX

The vicissitudes of fortune with which the preceding campaign had been chequered were sufficient to convince every potentate concerned in the war, that neither side possessed such a superiority in strength or conduct as was requisite to impose terms upon the other. Battles had been fought with various success ; and surprising efforts of military skill had been exhibited without producing one event which tended to promote a general peace, or even engender the least desire of accommodation. On the contrary, the first and most violent transports of animosity had by this time subsided into a confirmed habit of deliberate hatred ; and every contending power seemed more than ever determined to protract the dispute ; while the neutral states kept aloof, without expressing the least desire of interposing their mediation. Some of them were restrained by considerations of expediency ; and others waited in suspense for the death of the Spanish monarch, as an event which they imagined would be attended with very important consequences in the southern parts of Europe.—SMOLLETT.

CCXXXI

As soon as the King had sure notice which way the enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage which the supine negligence of those he trusted had robbed him of; and himself with matchless industry taking care to lead up the foot, Prince Rupert, with near five thousand horse, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep countries, in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the van of the enemy's army had almost marched over Awborne Chase, intending that night to have reached Newbury, Prince Rupert, beyond their fear or expectation, appeared with a strong body of horse so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he charged their rear, and routed them with good execution; and though the enemy performed the part of good men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many men, they were glad to shorten their journey, and, the night coming on, took up their quarters at Hungerford.—CLARENDON.

CCXXXII

Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: the retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and, passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from

the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy ; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strewed with dead bodies. The priests above all received no quarter ; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprise so ill befitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English ; and, according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners.—HUME.

CCXXXIII

Unfortunately, the Spanish infantry, accustomed to victory, and feeling a contempt for the disordered levies opposed to them, loudly called to be led against the heretics. In vain their more prudent general persisted in his plan. They chafed at the delay, refusing to a Flemish commander the obedience which they might probably have paid to one of their own nation. They openly accused him of treachery, and of having an understanding with his countrymen in the enemy's camp. Stung by their reproaches, Aremberg had the imprudence to do what more than one brave man has been led to do both before and since : he surrendered his own judgment to the importunities of his soldiers. Crying out that 'they should soon see if he were a traitor !' he put himself at the head of his little army and marched against the enemy. His artillery, meanwhile, which he had posted on his right, opened a brisk fire on Louis' left wing, where, owing to the nature of the ground, it did little execution.



Under cover of this fire the main body of the Spanish infantry moved forward ; but, as their commander had foreseen, the men soon became entangled in the morass ; their ranks were thrown into disorder ; and when at length, after long and painful efforts, they emerged on the firm ground, they were more spent with toil than they would have been after a hard day's march.—PRESCOTT.

CCXXXIV

Thus jaded, and sadly in disarray, they were at once assailed in front by an enemy who, conscious of his own advantage, was all fresh and hot for action. Notwithstanding their distressed condition, Aremberg's soldiers maintained their ground for some time, like men unaccustomed to defeat. At length Louis ordered the cavalry on his right to charge Aremberg's flank. This unexpected movement, occurring at a critical moment, decided the day. Assailed in front and in flank, hemmed in by the fatal morass in the rear, the Spaniards were thrown into utter confusion. In vain their gallant leader, proof against danger, though not against the taunts of his followers, endeavoured to rally them. His horse was killed under him ; and as he was mounting another he received a shot from a foot-soldier, and fell mortally wounded from his saddle. The rout now became general. Some took to the morass, and fell into the hands of the victors. Some succeeded in cutting their way through the ranks of their assailants, while many more lost their lives in the attempt. The ground was covered with the wounded and the dead. The victory was complete.—PRESCOTT.

CCXXXV

After many a weary march and desperate struggle, about 10,000 sad survivors got again to the banks of that fatal Loire, which now seemed to divide them from hope and

protection. Henri, who had arranged the whole operation with consummate judgment, found the shores on both sides free of the enemy. But all the boats had been removed; and, after leaving orders to construct rafts with all possible despatch, he himself, with a few attendants, ventured over in a little wherry, which he had brought with him on a cart, to make arrangements for covering their landing. But they never saw the daring Henri again! The vigilant enemy came down upon them at the critical moment, intercepted his return, and, stationing several armed vessels in the stream, rendered the passage of the army altogether impossible. They fell back in despair upon Savenay; and the brave and indefatigable Marigny told Madame de L. that all was now over—that it was altogether impossible to resist the attack that would be made next day—and advised her to seek safety in flight and disguise, without the loss of an instant. She set out accordingly with her mother on a gloomy day of December, under the conduct of a drunken peasant; and, after being out most of the night, at length obtained shelter in a dirty farm-house, from which, in the course of the day, she had the misery of seeing her unfortunate countrymen scattered over the whole open country, chased and butchered without mercy by the republicans, who now took a final vengeance of all the losses they had sustained.—JEFFREY.

CCXXXVI

It was disputed, on all parts, with great fierceness and courage; the enemy preserving good order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon than to get more; by which they did not expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any motion would have offered to the assailants. The king's horse, with a kind of contempt of the enemy, charged with wonderful boldness upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the troops of the other

side, that they routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their foot without any guard at all of horse. But then the foot behaved themselves admirably on the enemies' part, and gave their scattered horse time to rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The London trained-bands and auxiliary regiments behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about.—CLARENDON.

CCXXXVII

Philip widely differed from his father in sluggishness of body, which made any undertaking that required physical effort exceedingly irksome. He shrank from no amount of sedentary labour, would toil from morning to midnight in his closet, like the humblest of his secretaries. But a journey was a great undertaking. A thing so formidable as an expedition to Flanders, involving a tedious journey through an unfriendly land, or a voyage through seas not less unfriendly, was what, under ordinary circumstances, the king would have never dreamed of. The present aspect of affairs, moreover, had nothing in it particularly inviting—especially to a prince of Philip's temper. Never was there a prince more jealous of his authority; and the indignities to which he might have been exposed in the disorderly condition of the country might well have come to the aid of his constitutional sluggishness to deter him from the visit. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that Philip, if he had ever entertained a vague project of a journey to the Netherlands, should have yielded

to his natural habit of procrastination. The difficulties of a winter's voyage, the necessity of summoning Cortes and settling the affairs of the kingdom, his own protracted illness, furnished so many apologies for postponing the irksome visit, until the time had passed when such a visit could be effectual.—PRESCOTT.

CCXXXVIII

All this, all the intrinsic injustice, all the scandal and discredit in the eyes of honest men, was forgotten in the obstinate and blind confidence in the letter of a vague statute. The accused was not allowed to defend or explain himself; he was refused the knowledge of the definite charges against him; he was refused, in spite of his earnest entreaties, a hearing, even an appearance, in the presence of his judges. The statute, it was said, enjoined none of these things. The name of his accuser was not told him; he was left to learn it by report. To the end of the business all was wrought in secrecy; no one knows to this day how the examination was conducted, or what were the opinions of the judges. To make the proceedings still more unlike ordinary public justice, informal and private communications were carried on between the judges and the accused, in which the accused was bound to absolute silence, and forbidden to consult his nearest friends.—R. W. CHURCH.

CCXXXIX

A plan was formed for carrying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of ascending the Heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, that they might take possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design

were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit of enterprise that bordered on desperation. The stream was rapid ; the shore shelving ; the banks of the river lined with sentinels ; the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark ; and the ground so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the daytime, had no opposition been expected. If the enemy had received the least information from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme ; had the embarkation been disordered in consequence of the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelving nature of the north shore, near which they were obliged to row ; had one sentinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much mistaken, the Heights of Abraham must have been instantly secured by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive. Confusion would necessarily have ensued in the dark ; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment.—SMOLLETT.

CCXL

After he had stayed there a short time, he quickly possessed himself of an old castle : which, in respect of the situation in a country so impossible for any army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose : thither he conveyed the arms, ammunition, and troops which he had brought with him. And then he published his declaration, ‘ that he came with the King’s commission, to assist those his good subjects, and to preserve them from oppression : that he did not intend to give any interruption to the treaty that he heard was entered into with his majesty ; but, on the contrary, hoped that his being at the head of an army, how small soever, that was faithful to the King, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former actions that if any agreement were made with the King, upon the first order

from his majesty he should lay down his arms and dispossess himself according to his majesty's good pleasure.' He writ likewise to the heads of the several clans 'to draw such forces together as they thought necessary to join with him'; and he received answers from many of them by which they desired him 'to advance more into the land,' and assured him 'that they would meet him with good numbers'; and they did prepare so to do, some really, and others with a purpose to betray him.—CLARENDON.

CCXLI

Being now no longer obliged to wear the mask of lenity, he began his tyranny by assembling the people, and desiring an implicit obedience to his commands if they expected favour. He then published that those who expected pardon for their late offences should gain it by destroying the enemies of the State. This was a new mode of proscription, by which the arms of all were turned against all. Great numbers perished by this mutual power, which was given the people of destroying each other; and nothing was to be found in every place, but menaces, distrust, and treachery. Eight thousand, who had escaped the general carnage, offered themselves to the conqueror of Rome; he ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large house in the Campus Martius; and at the same time convoked the Senate: there he spoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way discomposed, of his own exploits; and in the meantime had given private directions that all those wretches whom he had confined should be slain. The Senate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, at first thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed air, informed them that it was only some criminals who were punished by his order, and that they needed not make themselves uneasy about their fate.—GOLDSMITH'S *Roman History*.

CCXLII

To have been a sovereign, yet the champion of liberty ; a revolutionary leader, yet the supporter of social order, is the peculiar glory of William. He knew where to pause. He outraged no national prejudice. He abolished no ancient form. He altered no venerable name. He saw that the existing institutions possessed the greatest capabilities of excellence, and that stronger sanctions and clearer definitions were alone required to make the practice of the British constitution as admirable as the theory. Thus he imparted to innovation the dignity and stability of antiquity. He transferred to a happier order of things the associations which had attached the people to their former Government. As the Roman warrior, before he assaulted Veii, invoked its guardian gods to leave its walls, and to accept the worship and patronise the cause of the besiegers, this great prince, in attacking a system of oppression, summoned to his aid the venerable principles and deeply seated feelings to which that system was indebted for protection.—MACAULAY.

CCXLIII

The *plaza* was defended on its three sides by low ranges of buildings, consisting of spacious halls with wide doors opening into the square. In these halls Pizarro stationed his cavalry in two divisions, one under his brother Hernando, the other under De Soto. The infantry he placed in another of the buildings, reserving twenty chosen men to act with himself as occasion might require. Pedro de Candia, with a few soldiers and the artillery, he established in the fortress. All received orders to wait at their posts till the arrival of the Inca. After his entrance into the great square, they were

still to remain under cover, withdrawn from observation, till the signal was given by the discharge of a gun, when they were to cry their war-cries, to rush out in a body from their covert, and, putting the Peruvians to the sword, bear off the person of the Inca. The arrangements of the immense halls, opening on a level with the *plaza*, seemed to be contrived on purpose for a *coup de théâtre*. Pizarro particularly inculcated order and implicit obedience, that in the hurry of the moment there should be no confusion. Everything depended on their acting with concert, coolness, and celerity.

PRESCOTT.

CCXLIV

The influence of Doria's virtue and example communicated itself to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the State seemed to be forgotten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the same form of government which has subsisted with little variation since that time in Genoa was established with universal applause. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, respected, and honoured by his countrymen; and, adhering uniformly to his professions of moderation, without arrogating anything unbecoming a private citizen, he preserved a great ascendant over the councils of the republic, which owed its being to his generosity. The authority which he possessed was more flattering, as well as more satisfactory, than that derived from sovereignty; a dominion founded in love and gratitude, and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is still revered by the Genoese, and he is distinguished in their public monuments, and celebrated in the works of their historians, by the most honourable of all appellations,—the Father of his Country, and the Restorer of its Liberty.—ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

CCXLV

We read in the history of ancient Rome, that when one of the armies of the republic had fallen into the power of the enemy, and was surrounded by the Samnites at the Caudine Forks, the victorious general, desirous to make the most of the advantage which he had obtained, despatched a message to his father, a senator celebrated for his wisdom, to counsel him as to the most expedient mode of disposing of his captives. 'Dismiss them unransomed and unmolested,' was the answer of the aged senator. This was a strain of generosity too high for the comprehension of the son. He re-despatched his messenger to consult his oracle again. The answer then was, 'Exterminate them to the last man.' This advice was so unlike the former, that it excited a suspicion that the old man's intellects were deranged: he was brought to the camp to explain the discordancy of his counsel. 'By my first advice,' said he, 'which was the best, I recommended to you to ensure the everlasting gratitude of a powerful people; by my second, which was the worst, I pointed out to you the policy of getting rid of a dangerous enemy. There is no third way.'—CANNING.

CCXLVI

A general astonishment had seized the Hollanders, from the combination of such powerful princes against the republic; and nowhere was resistance made, suitable to the ancient glory or present greatness of the state. Governors without experience commanded troops without discipline; and despair had universally extinguished that sense of honour, by which alone, men, in such dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valorous defence. Lewis advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to pass. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the season,

by which the greatest rivers were much diminished, and in some places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themselves into the river, the infantry passed in boats, a few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other side, who were unable to make resistance. And thus was executed without danger, but not without glory, the passage of the Rhine, so much celebrated at that time by the flattery of the French courtiers, and transmitted to posterity by the more durable flattery of their poets.—HUME.

CCXLVII

In the choice of the attack the French and Venetians were divided by their habits of life and warfare. The former affirmed with truth that Constantinople was most accessible on the side of the sea and the harbour. The latter might assert with honour that they had long enough trusted their lives and fortunes to a frail bark and a precarious element, and loudly demanded a trial of knighthood, a firm ground, and a close onset, either on foot or horseback. After a prudent compromise of employing the two nations by sea and land in the service best suited to their character, the fleet covering the army, they both proceeded from the entrance to the extremity of the harbour: the stone bridge of the river was hastily repaired; and the six battles of the French formed their encampment against the front of the capital, the basis of the triangle which runs about four miles from the port to the Propontis. The gates to the right and left of their narrow camp poured forth frequent sallies of cavalry and light infantry, which cut off their stragglers, swept the country of provisions, sounded the alarm five or six times in the course of each day, and compelled them to plant a palisade and sink an entrenchment for their immediate safety.—GIBBON.

CCXLVIII

No sooner was the signal given, than the various races, in whose veins glowed the hot blood of the south, sprang impetuously forward. In vain the leading files, as they came on, were swept away by the artillery of the fortress. The tide rushed on, with an enthusiasm that overleaped every obstacle. Each man seemed emulous of his comrade, as if desirous to show the superiority of his own tribe or race. The ditch, choked up with the *débris* of the rampart and the fascines that had been thrown into it, was speedily crossed; and while some sprang fearlessly into the breach, others endeavoured to scale the walls. But everywhere they were met by men as fresh for action as themselves, and possessed of a spirit as intrepid. The battle raged along the parapet, and in the breach, where the struggle was deadliest. It was the old battle—the fiery African and the cool, indomitable European. Pike, sabre, and scimitar clashed fearfully against each other; while high above the din rose the war-cries, showing the countries of the combatants.—PRESCOTT.

CCXLIX

The authorities drifted insensibly into this position. They had not taken the trouble to understand the movement, to discriminate between its aspects, to put themselves frankly into communication with its leading persons, to judge with knowledge and justice of its designs and ways. They let themselves be diverted from this, their proper though troublesome task, by distrust, by the jealousies of their position, by the impossibility of conceiving that anything so strange could be really true and sound. And at length they found themselves going along with the outside current of uninstructed and ignoble prejudice, in a settled and pronounced dislike, which took for granted that all was wrong in the movement,

which admitted any ill-natured surmise and foolish misrepresentation, and really allowed itself to acquiesce in the belief that men so well known, once so admired and honoured, had sunk down to deliberate corrupters of the truth, and palterers with their own intellects and consciences.

R. W. CHURCH.

CCL

But such indignities only served to increase his diligence and animosity. He appeared before a body of the Roman forces, that were encamped at Capua, in an humble and imploring manner, without any of the ensigns of his office. He entreated them with tears and protestations, not to suffer the people of Rome to fall a sacrifice to the tyranny of the great: he invoked the gods who punished injustice, to judge of the rectitude of his intentions; and so far prevailed upon the soldiers, that they unanimously resolved to support his cause. The whole army agreed to nominate him consul, and contrary to the decree of the senate, invested him with the ensigns of his office; then taking the oaths of allegiance, they determined to follow him to Rome. Thus he saw his strength increasing every day; several of the senators, who were wavering before, now came over to his side; but what was equal to an army in itself, tidings were brought, that Marius, escaping from a thousand perils, was with his son upon the road to join him.—GOLDSMITH'S *Roman History*.

CCLI

A thick mist concealed their approach until they reached almost the brink of the ditch which surrounded the suburbs: having planted their ladders in a moment, each brigade rushed on the assault with an impetuosity heightened by national emulation. They were received at first with fortitude equal to their own: the veteran soldiers who had been assembled,

fought with a courage becoming men to whom the defence of the noblest city in the world was intrusted. Bourbon's troops, notwithstanding all their valour, gained no ground, and even began to give way ; when their leader, perceiving that on this critical moment the fate of the day depended, leaped from his horse, pressed to the front, snatched a scaling-ladder from a soldier, planted it against the wall, and began to mount it, encouraging his men with his voice and hand to follow him. But at this very instant a musket-ball from the ramparts pierced his groin with a wound, which he immediately felt to be mortal ; but he retained so much presence of mind as to desire those who were near him to cover his body with a cloak, that his death might not dishearten his troops ; and soon after he expired, with a courage worthy of a better cause, and which would have entitled him to the highest praise, if he had thus fallen in defence of his country, and not at the head of its enemies.—ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

CCLII

The condition of the commons in the Netherlands was far in advance of what it was in most other countries at the same period. For this they were indebted to the character of the people, or rather to the peculiar circumstances which formed that character. Occupying a soil which had been redeemed with infinite toil and perseverance from the waters, their life was passed in perpetual struggle with the elements. They were early familiarised to the dangers of the ocean. The Flemish mariner was distinguished for the intrepid spirit with which he pushed his voyages into distant and unknown seas. An extended commerce opened to him a wide range of observation and experience ; and to the bold and hardy character of the ancient Netherlander, was added a spirit of enterprise, with such enlarged and liberal views as fitted him for taking part in the great concerns of the community. Villages and

towns grew up rapidly. Wealth flowed in from this commercial activity, and the assistance which these little communities were thus enabled to afford their princes, drew from the latter the concession of important political privileges, which established the independence of the citizen.—PRESCOTT.

CCLIII

The want of experience had been supplied by the genius of Robert Guiscard; and each evening, when he had sounded a retreat, he calmly explored the causes of his repulse, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defeats, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter season suspended his progress; but with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople; but, instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay the labour, and where the land and sea forces might pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But in the isle of Cephalonia his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease. Robert himself, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in his tent, and a suspicion of poison was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife or to the Greek Emperor. This premature death might allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits, and the event sufficiently declares that the Norman greatness was founded on his life. Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation, and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance.—GIBBON.

CCLIV

He had now been two months in the field; his troops had suffered every calamity that a long march, together with the uncommon rigour of the season, could bring upon men destitute

of all necessary accommodation in an enemy's country ; the magnificent promises to which they trusted had hitherto proved altogether vain ; they saw no prospect of relief ; their patience, tried to the utmost, failed at last, and they broke out into open mutiny. Some officers, who rashly attempted to restrain them, fell victims to their fury. Bourbon himself, not daring to appear during the first transports of their rage, was obliged to fly secretly from his quarters. But this sudden ebullition of wrath began at last to subside ; when Bourbon, who possessed, in a wonderful degree, the art of governing the minds of soldiers, renewed his promises with more confidence than formerly, and assured them that they would be soon accomplished. He endeavoured to render their hardships more tolerable, by partaking of them himself ; he fared no better than the meanest sentinel ; he marched along with them on foot ; he joined them in singing their camp ballads, in which, with high praise of his valour, they mingled many strokes of military raillery on his poverty, and wherever they came, he allowed them, as a foretaste of what he had promised, to plunder the adjacent villages at discretion. Encouraged by all these soothing arts, they entirely forgot their sufferings and complaints, and followed him with the same implicit confidence as formerly.—ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

CCLV

This rencounter proved of great advantage and benefit to the king. For it being the first action his horse had been brought to, and that part of the enemy being the most picked and choice men, it gave his troops great courage, and exceedingly appalled the adversary ; insomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their horse, and their very numbers were lessened by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief officers of name and reputation either killed or taken, though the number lost upon the place was

not considerable, there were very many more who never returned to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible and irresistible courage of Prince Rupert and the king's horse. So that, from this time the Parliament begun to be apprehensive that the business would not be so easily ended, as it was begun; and that the king would not be bought back to them with their bare votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat (for no question many who had made the greatest noise, wished they were again to choose their side) the two Houses were so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the king, or that they had any apprehension that the people would be less firm and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder acts to evince both, than they had yet done.—CLARENDON.

CCLVI

While this dismal tragedy was passing, the mob imprisoned within the walls of Antwerp were raging and bellowing like the waves of the ocean chafing wildly against the rocks that confine them. With fierce cries, they demanded that the gates should be opened, calling on the magistrates with bitter imprecations to deliver up the keys. The magistrates had no mind to face the infuriated populace. But the Prince of Orange fortunately, at this crisis, did not hesitate to throw himself into the midst of the tumult, and take on himself the whole responsibility of the affair. It was by his command that the gates had been closed, in order that the regent's troops, if victorious, might not enter the city and massacre their enemies. This plausible explanation did not satisfy the people. Some called out that the true motive was, not to save these men, but to prevent their assisting their brethren in the camp. One man, more audacious than the rest, raised a

musket to the prince's breast, saluting him, at the same time, with the epithet of 'traitor!' But the fellow received no support from his companions, who, in general, entertained too great respect for William to offer any violence to his person. —PRESCOTT.

CCLVII

So unexpected an advice not a little disturbed the senate : they saw the justice of his opinion, but they also saw the dangers he incurred by giving it : they seemed entirely satisfied of the expediency of prolonging the war ; their only obstacle was how to secure the safety of him who had advised its continuance ; they pitied as well as admired a man who had used such eloquence against his private interest, and could not conclude upon a measure which was to terminate in his ruin. Regulus, however, soon relieved their embarrassment by breaking off the treaty, and by rising in order to return to his bonds and confinement. It was in vain that the senate and all his dearest friends entreated his stay ; he still repressed their solicitations. His wife vainly entreated to be permitted to see him : he still obstinately persisted in keeping his promise ; and though sufficiently apprised of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family, or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambassadors for Carthage.—GOLDSMITH'S *Roman History*.

CCLVIII

The king, hoping by his artifice and subtlety to allure the nation into a love of pleasure and repose, was himself caught in the snare ; and, sinking into a dissolute indolence, wholly lost the esteem, and, in a great measure, the affections of his people. Instead of advancing such men of character and abilities as were neuters between the dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young, agreeable favourites, who,

unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium against his administration. The public burdens, increased by his profuse liberality, and felt more heavy on a disordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrolled animosity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open state of foreign or even domestic hostility.—HUME.

CCLIX

Leyva, well acquainted with the difficulties under which his countrymen laboured, and the impossibility of their facing in the field such a powerful army as formed the siege of Pavia, placed his only hopes of safety in his own vigilance and valour. The efforts of both were extraordinary, and in proportion to the importance of the place, with the defence of which he was intrusted. He interrupted the approaches of the French by frequent and furious sallies. Behind the breaches made by their artillery he erected new works, which appeared to be scarcely inferior in strength to the original fortifications. He repulsed the besiegers in all their assaults, and by his own example brought not only the garrison, but the inhabitants, to bear the most severe fatigues, and to encounter the greatest dangers without murmuring. The rigour of the season conspired with his endeavours in retarding the progress of the French. Francis, attempting to become master of the town by diverting the course of the Ticino, which is its chief defence on one side, a sudden inundation of the river destroyed, in one day, the labour of many weeks, and swept away all the mounds which his army had raised with infinite toil, as well as great expense.

ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

CCLX

Certainly no two characters could be more strongly contrasted with each other. Egmont, frank, fiery, impulsive in his temper, had little in common with the cool, cautious, and calculating William. The showy qualities of the former, lying on the surface, more readily caught the popular eye. There was a depth in William's character not easy to be fathomed, an habitual reserve, which made it difficult even for those who knew him best always to read him right. Yet the coolness between these two nobles may have arisen less from difference of character than from similarity of position. Both, by their rank and services, took the foremost ground in public estimation, so that it was scarcely possible they should not jostle each other in the career of ambition. But however divided formerly, they were now too closely united by the pressure of external circumstances to be separated by the subtle policy of Philip. Under the influence of a common disgust with the administration and its arbitrary measures, they continued to act in concert together, and, in their union, derived benefit from the very opposition of their characters. For what better augury of success than that afforded by the union of wisdom in council with boldness in execution?—PRESCOTT.

CCLXI

On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. 'You behold,' said he, 'your danger; it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms and standards: and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader.' The vote and acclamation, even of his secret enemies, assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence; and the



Duke thus continued : ‘ Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial.’ The resolution was unanimously approved ; and, without confining himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle-array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river ; his right wing extended to the sea ; his left to the hills : nor was he conscious, perhaps, that, on the same ground, Caesar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world.—GIBBON.

CCLXII

The satisfaction which Charles reaped from his new alliance received a great check by the death of his sister, and still more by those melancholy circumstances which attended it. Her death was sudden, after a few days’ illness ; and she was seized with the malady upon drinking a glass of water. Strong suspicions of poison arose in the court of France, and were spread all over Europe ; and as her husband had discovered many symptoms of jealousy and discontent on account of her conduct, he was universally believed to be the author of the crime. Charles himself, during some time, was entirely convinced of his guilt ; but upon receiving the attestation of physicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was, or pretended to be, satisfied. The Duke of Orleans indeed did never, in any other circumstance of his life, betray such dispositions as might lead him to so criminal an action ; and a lady, it is said, drank the remains of the same glass without feeling any inconvenience. The sudden death of princes is commonly accompanied with these dismal surmises ; and therefore less weight is in this case to be laid on the suspicions of the public.—HUME.

CCLXIII

At this juncture William, with a small guard, and accompanied by the principal magistrates, crossed over to the enemy's ranks, and demanded an interview with the leaders. He represented to them the madness of their present course, which, even if they were victorious, must work infinite mischief to the cause. It would be easy for them to obtain by fair means all they could propose by violence ; and for his own part, he concluded, however well disposed to them he now might be, if a single drop of blood were shed in this quarrel, he would hold them from that hour as enemies. The remonstrance of the prince, aided by the conviction of their own inferiority in numbers, prevailed over the stubborn temper of the Calvinists. They agreed to an accommodation, one of the articles of which was, that no garrison should be admitted within the city. The Prince of Orange subscribed and swore to the treaty on behalf of his party ; and it is proof of the confidence that even the Calvinists reposed in him, that they laid down their arms sooner than either the Lutherans or the Catholics. Both these, however, speedily followed their example. The martial array, which had assumed so menacing an aspect, soon melted away. The soldier of an hour, subsiding into the quiet burgher, went about his usual business ; and tranquillity and order once more reigned within the walls of Antwerp.—PRESCOTT.

CCLXIV

The spirit of the young prince infused itself into his hearers. Those who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to subjection, were now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend those last remains of their native soil of which neither the irruption of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should

even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife; but, flying to their settlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in those remote regions, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted measures for executing this extraordinary resolution; and found that the vessels contained in their harbours could transport above two hundred thousand inhabitants to the East Indies.—HUME.

ORATORY

CCLXV

But let me throw all these considerations aside, every one of which, however, would singly outweigh the whole of the advantages placed in the opposite scale as gained by the allies; and let me ask, is it nothing that the great and momentous experiment has been made, and that a single nation, roused by a new and animating energy, and defending what they conceive to be their liberty, has proved itself to be a match for the enmity and the arms of the world? Is the pride which success in such a conflict has given to the individual heart of every man who has shared in it to be estimated as nothing? Are the triumphs and rewards which the politic prodigality of their government heaps on the meanest of their ranks who suffer or distinguish themselves in the battles, fruitless and of no effect? Or, finally, are we to hold as a matter of slight consideration the daring and enthusiastic spirit, solicitous of danger and fearless of death, which, gradually kindled by all these circumstances, has now spread with electrical rapidity among such a race of people, so placed, so provided, and so provoked? Be he who he may that has reflected on all these circumstances either singly or in the aggregate, and shall still say that the allies

are at this moment nearer the attainment of their professed object than at the commencement of the last campaign, I say that man's mind is either clouded by passion, corrupted by interest, or that his intellects were never properly framed.—
SHERIDAN.

CCLXVI

I ask you what could tempt me, an old lawyer, to enter publicly into a conspiracy? I boasted that I kept the public free from the meshes of the law. I say that I boasted of this. I know that I have but a short time to labour in my vocation here, and that there is an eternity on which I must soon enter. I approach that judgment which cannot be long postponed, and do you believe that under such circumstances I would be guilty of that with which I stand charged? Ah, no, you do not think I would have the cruelty, the folly, to enter into such a conspiracy. You do not believe that I would have the absurdity to enter into that conspiracy. I proclaim firmly you cannot believe it. I know your verdict may imprison me, and shorten the few days yet before me, but it cannot take from me the consciousness that I am entitled to your acquittal, and that there is not a man of you who would pronounce a verdict of guilty, who would not himself be conscious of it being a mistake.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CCLXVII

My lords and gentlemen of the jury,—In the early part of this trial I thought I would have had to address you on the most important occasion possible on this side the grave, a man labouring for life on the casual strength of an exhausted, and at best, a feeble advocate. But, gentlemen, do not imagine that I rise under any such impressions—do not imagine that I approach you, sinking under the hopeless

difficulties of my case. I am not now soliciting your indulgence to the inadequacy of my powers, or artfully enlisting your passions at the side of my client. No! gentlemen, but I rise with what of law, of conscience, of justice, and of constitution there exists within this realm at my back, and, standing in front of that great and powerful alliance, I demand a verdict of acquittal for my client! What is the opposition of evidence? It is a tissue which requires no strength to break through, it vanishes at the touch, and is sundered into tatters.—CURRAN.

CCLXVIII

I shall hear of ingratitude: I name the argument to despise it, and the men who make use of it. I know the men who use it are not grateful, they are insatiate; they are public extortioners, who would stop the tide of public prosperity, and turn it to the channel of their own emolument. I know of no species of gratitude which should prevent my country from being free, no gratitude which should oblige Ireland to be the slave of England. In cases of robbery and usurpation nothing is an object of gratitude except the thing stolen, the charter spoliated. A nation's liberty cannot, like her treasure, be meted and parcelled out in gratitude; no man can be grateful or liberal of his conscience, no woman of her honour, nor nation of her liberty: there are certain unimpartable, inherent, invaluable properties not to be alienated from the person, whether body politic or body natural. With the same contempt do I treat that charge which says that Ireland is insatiable; saying, that Ireland asks nothing but that which Great Britain has robbed her of, her rights and privileges; to say that Ireland will not be satisfied with liberty because she is not satisfied with slavery is folly.—GRATTAN.

CCLXIX

I will detain the House no longer. I have nothing to add to the grounds of release I have just stated. I believe that clemency, a wise and just clemency, is one of the arts of government. For my own part, I care not what the decision of even this House might be if a vote was taken upon the matter. I only know that there is no transaction in which I have taken a part since I entered public life in regard to which I shall always look back with more complete satisfaction and gratification than the part I have taken in the release of these four men. All I have to say is that, unlike the right honourable gentleman opposite, I do not profess to have waved any enchanter's magic wand over Ireland. I make no boast and I ask for no praise. It may be that our policy may fail, but I would say to the House what a great man said to it once before.—'Do not commit the crime of wishing it.'—J. MORLEY.

CCLXX

If your dependencies have been secured, and their interests promoted, I am driven, in the defence of my client, to remark that it is mad and preposterous to bring to the standard of justice and humanity the exercise of a dominion founded upon violence and terror. It may and must be true that Mr. Hastings has repeatedly offended against the rights and privileges of Asiatic government, if he was the faithful deputy of a power which could not maintain itself for an hour without trampling upon both; he may and must have offended against the laws of God and nature, if he was the faithful viceroy of an empire wrested in blood from the people to whom God and nature had given it; he may and must have preserved that unjust dominion over timorous and abject nations by a terrifying, overbearing, and insulting superiority, if he was the faithful administrator of your

government, which having no root in consent or affection, no foundation in similarity of interests, nor support from any one principle that cements men together in society, could only be upheld by alternate stratagem and force. The unhappy people of India, feeble and effeminate as they are from the softness of their climate, and subdued and broken as they have been by the knavery and strength of civilisation, still occasionally start up in all the vigour and intelligence of an insulted nature ;—to be governed at all, they must be governed with a rod of iron.—**ERSKINE.**

CCLXXI

Oh, Faith ! Oh, Justice ! I conjure you by your sacred names to depart for a moment from this place, though it be your peculiar residence ; nor hear your names profaned by such a sacrilegious combination, as that which I am now compelled to repeat !—where all the fair forms of nature and art, truth and peace, policy and honour, shrunk back aghast from the deleterious shade !—where all existences, nefarious and vile, had sway ;—where, amidst the black agents on one side, and Middleton with Impey on the other, the toughest head, the most unfeeling heart, the great figure of the piece, characteristic in his place, stood aloof and independent from the puny profligacy in his train !—but far from idle and inactive,—turning a malignant eye on all mischief that awaited him !—the multiplied apparatus of temporising expedients, and intimidating instruments ! now cringing on his prey, and fawning on his vengeance !—now quickening the limping pace of craft, and forcing every stand that retiring nature can make in the heart !—violating the attachments and the decorums of life ! sacrificing every emotion of tenderness and honour ! and flagitiously levelling all the distinctions of national characteristics ! with a long catalogue of crimes and aggravations beyond the reach of thought, for human malignity to perpetrate, or human vengeance to punish !—**SHERIDAN.**

CCLXXII

It is difficult, sir, to conceive any spectacle more alarming than that which presents itself to us, when we look at the two extreme parties in this country; a narrow oligarchy above; an infuriated multitude below; on the one side the vices engendered by power; on the other side the vices engendered by distress; one party blindly averse to improvement; the other party blindly clamouring for destruction; one party ascribing to political abuses the sanctity of property; the other party crying out against property as a political abuse. Both these parties are alike ignorant of their true interest. God forbid that the state should ever be at the mercy of either, or should ever experience the calamities which must result from a collision between them! I anticipate no such horrible event. For between those two parties stands a third party, infinitely more powerful than both the others put together, attacked by both, vilified by both, but destined, I trust, to save both from the fatal effects of their own folly. To that party I have never ceased, through all the vicissitudes of public affairs, to look with confidence and with a good hope. That party is the middle class of England, with the flower of the aristocracy at its head, and the flower of the working classes bringing up its rear.—MACAULAY.

CCLXXIII

There are but three ways by which mankind can be governed; by their virtues, their interests, or their fears. To be able to govern men by their sense and their virtues is unquestionably the best of all. If men will be ready always to support gratuitously what they think right, and oppose nothing but what they conscientiously believe to be wrong, the task of government would comparatively be easy, and corruption without excuse. The minister could have nothing to

do but choose right measures, and the merit of the measure might be expected to carry it through. But if the fact should be, that there are numbers who cannot be brought to support even what they themselves approve, without being paid for it, and who, if they have not been paid, or think that they can get better payment elsewhere, will combine and cabal, and create every sort of obstruction and impediment, there is then no other way, in a free government, for the purpose of carrying on the public service, but to gain over such persons by their interests, which, in the language of the time, is to be guilty of corruption; but a corruption surely of which the guilt cannot fairly be charged on the government.—
WINDHAM.

CCLXXIV

That the pride, the folly, the presumption of a single person shall be able to involve a whole people in wretchedness and disgrace, is more than philosophy can teach mortal patience to endure. Here are the true weapons of the enemies of our constitution! Here may we search for the source of those seditious writings, meant either to weaken our attachment to the constitution, by depreciating its value, or that loudly tell us we have no constitution at all. We may blame, we may reprobate such doctrines, but while we furnish those who circulate them with arguments such as these; while the example of this day shows us to what degree the fact is true, we must not wonder if the purposes they are meant to answer be but too successful. They argue, that a constitution cannot be right where such things are possible; much less so when they are practised without punishment. This, sir, is a serious reflection to every man who loves the constitution of England. Against the vain theories of men who project fundamental alterations upon grounds of mere speculative objection, I can easily defend it: but when they

recur to these facts, and show me how we may be doomed to all the horrors of war, by the caprice of an individual, who will not even condescend to explain his reason, I can only fly to this House and exhort you to rouse from your lethargy of confidence, into the active mistrust and vigilant control which your duty and your office point out to you.—FOX.

CCLXXV

Between the period of national honour and complete degeneracy, there is usually an interval of national vanity, during which examples of virtue are recounted and admired without being imitated. The Romans were never more proud of their ancestors than when they ceased to resemble them. From being the freest and most high-spirited people in the world, they suddenly fell into the tamest and most abject submission. Let not the name of Britons, my countrymen, too much elate you; nor ever think yourselves safe while you abate one jot of that holy jealousy by which your liberties have been hitherto secured. The richer the inheritance bequeathed you, the more it merits your care for its preservation. The possession must be continued by that spirit with which it was first acquired; and, as it was gained by vigilance, it will be lost by supineness. A degenerate race repose on the merit of their forefathers: the virtuous create a fund of their own. The former look back upon their ancestors, to hide their shame: the latter look forward to posterity, to levy a tribute of admiration. In vain will you confide in the forms of a free constitution. Unless you re-animate those forms with fresh vigour, they will be melancholy memorials of what you once were, and haunt you with the shade of departed liberty.—ROBERT HALL.

CCLXXVI

I recollect to have heard it advanced by some of those admirers of Mr. Hastings, who were not so implicit as to give unqualified applause to his crimes, that they found an apology for the atrocity of them in the greatness of his mind. To estimate the solidity of such a defence, it will be sufficient merely to consider in what consists this prepossessing distinction, this captivating characteristic of greatness of mind. Is it not solely to be traced in great actions directed to great ends? In them, and them alone, we are to search for true estimable magnanimity. To them only can we justly affix the splendid title and honours of real greatness. There is indeed another species of greatness, which displays itself in boldly conceiving a bad measure, and undauntedly pursuing it to its accomplishment. But has Mr. Hastings the merit of exhibiting either of these descriptions of greatness, even of the latter? I see nothing great—nothing magnanimous—nothing open—nothing direct in his measures or in his mind; on the contrary, he has too often pursued the worst objects by the worst means. His course is an eternal deviation from rectitude. He either tyrannises or deceives.—SHERIDAN.

CCLXXVII

If riches offend you, because ye would have the like, then think that to be no commonwealth, but envy to the commonwealth. Envy it is to impair another man's estate without the amendment of your own; and to have no gentlemen because ye be none yourselves, is to bring down an estate, and to mend none. Would ye have all rich alike?—That is, the overthrow of all labour and utter decay of work in this realm. For who will labour more, if, when he hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust, without right, take what him list from him, under pretence of equality with him? This is the

bringing in of idleness, which destroyeth the commonwealth, and not the amendment of labour, which maintaineth the commonwealth. If there should be such equality, then ye take all hope away from yours, to come to any better estate than you now leave them. And as many mean men's children come honestly up, and are great succour to all their stock, so should none hereafter be holpen by you. But because you seek equality whereby all cannot be rich, ye would that belike, whereby every man should be poor. And think, besides, that riches and inheritance be God's providence, and given to whom in His wisdom He thinketh good.

SIR JOHN CHEKE.

CCLXXVIII

For it is of no little consequence, citizens, by what principles you are governed, either in acquiring liberty or retaining it when acquired. And unless that liberty, which is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, which alone is the fruit of piety, of justice, of temperance and unadulterated virtue, shall have taken deep root in your minds and hearts, there will not long be wanting one who will snatch from you by treachery what you have acquired by arms. War has made many great whom peace makes small. If after being released from the toils of war you neglect the arts of peace, if your peace and your liberty be a state of warfare, if war be your only virtue, the summit of your praise, you will, believe me, soon find peace the most adverse to your interests. Your peace will only be a more distressing war; and that which you imagined liberty will prove the worst of slavery. Unless by means of piety, not frothy and loquacious, but operative and sincere, you clear your mind from the mists of superstition which arise from the ignorance of true religion, you will always have those who will bend your necks to the yoke as if you were brutes, who, notwithstanding all your triumphs, will put you up to the highest bidder as if you were mere booty made in war.—MILTON.

CCLXXIX

The prevailing national sentiment, the ruling passion, then, of the inferior country comes to be an angry, impatient, and intolerant love of their independency. Whoever touches that string reaches their heart, and commands their affections and actions. Hence we shall observe a restless and never satisfied struggling with every circumstance either in the constitution of their government or in the counsels and measures of their administration, which seems, even to the most subtle refinements of jealousy, to affect that object; hence a perpetual straining after its improvement and perfection; and hence, also, those imprudent and surely ungenerous advantages which are sought in periods of common distress or danger to extort concessions favourable to that object;—concessions which do not excite gratitude in those who receive them, because they are claimed as rights, and seem to have been enforced by necessity; concessions, too, which seem rather to whet than to satisfy the appetite that calls for them. Each victory of this kind becomes only a vantage ground from whence another may be fought for; and thus each succession of patriots, of demagogues, seeking to enhance on the exploits of their predecessors, the improvement of independency is pushed forward until the true goal of that course comes in view,—I mean separation.—LORD MINTO.

CCLXXX

This is British justice! This is British humanity! Mr. Hastings ensures to the allies of the company, in the strongest terms, their prosperity and his protection; the former he secures by sending an army to plunder them of their wealth, and to desolate their soil! His protection is fraught with a similar security; like that of a vulture to a lamb; grappling in its vitals! thirsting for its blood! scaring off each petty kite that

hovers round ; and then, with an insulting perversion of terms, calling sacrifice *protection* !—an object for which history seeks for any similarity in vain. All the records of man's transgressing, from original sin to the present period, dwindle into comparative insignificance of enormity ; both in aggravation of vile principles and extent of their consequential ruin ! The victims of this oppression were confessedly destitute of all power to resist their oppressors ; but that debility which, from other bosoms, would have claimed some compassion, with respect to the mode of suffering, here excited but the ingenuity of torture ! Even when every feeling of the Nabob was subdued, nature made a lingering, feeble stand within his bosom ; but even then that cold, unfeeling spirit of magnanimity, with whom his doom was fixed, returned with double acrimony to its purpose, and compelled him to inflict on a parent that destruction of which he was himself reserved but to be the last victim !—SHERIDAN.

CCLXXXI

But while I combat this general and abstract principle, which would operate as an objection to every union between separate states on the ground of the sacrifice of independence, do I mean to contend that there is in no case just ground for such a sentiment ? Far from it : it may become, on many occasions, the first duty of a free and generous people. If there exists a country which contains within itself the means of military protection, the naval force necessary for its defence, which furnishes objects of industry sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and pecuniary resources adequate for maintaining with dignity the rank which it has attained among the nations of the world ; if, above all, it enjoys the blessings of internal content and tranquillity, and possesses a distinct constitution of its own, the defects of which, if any, it is within itself capable of correcting, and if that constitution be equal, if not superior, to that of any other in the

world, or (which is nearly the same thing) if those who live under it believe it to be so, and fondly cherish that opinion, I can indeed well understand that such a country must be jealous of any measure which, even by its own consent, under the authority of its own lawful government, is to associate it as part of a larger and more extensive empire.—PITT.

CCLXXXII

A statesman, acting for a great country, may very well be in the situation of saying : I would make Peace at this time if nothing more were in question than the value of the objects now offered me compared with those which I may hope to obtain : but when I consider what the effect is which Peace, made in the present circumstances, will have upon the estimation of the country ; what the weakness is which it will betray ; what the suspicions it will excite ; what the distrust and alienation it will produce in the minds of all the surrounding nations ; how it will lower us in their eyes ; how it will teach them universally to fly from connection with a country which neither protects its friends nor seems any longer capable of protecting itself, in order to turn to those who, while their vengeance is terrible, will not suffer a hair of the head to be touched, of any who will put themselves under their protection ; when I consider these consequences, not less real or permanent or extensive than those which present themselves in the shape of territorial strength or commercial resources, I must reject these terms, which otherwise I should feel disposed to accept, and say that, putting character into the scale, the inclination of the balance is decidedly the other way.—WINDHAM.

CCLXXXIII

And all this without an intelligible motive—all this because you may gain a better peace a year or two hence ! So that we are called upon to go on merely as a speculation. We

must keep Bonaparte for some time longer at war, as a state of probation. Gracious God, sir! is war a state of probation? Is peace a rash system? Is it dangerous for nations to live in amity with each other? Is your vigilance, your policy, your common powers of observation to be extinguished by putting an end to the horrors of war? Cannot this state of probation be as well undergone without adding to the catalogue of human sufferings? 'But we must *pause*!' What! must the bowels of Great Britain be torn out—her best blood be spilt—her treasure wasted—that you may make an experiment? Put yourselves, oh! that you would put yourselves in the field of battle, and learn to judge of the sort of horrors that you excite! In former wars a man might at least have some feeling, some interest that served to balance in his mind the impression which a scene of carnage and of death must inflict. If a man had been present at the battle of Blenheim, for instance, and had inquired the motive of the battle, there was not a soldier engaged who could not have satisfied his curiosity, and perhaps allayed his feelings. But if a man were present now at a field of slaughter, and were to inquire for what they were fighting—'Fighting!' would be the answer; 'they are not fighting, they are *pausing*.'—Fox.

CCLXXXIV

Of the illustrious and ill-fated individual who was the object of this unprovoked attack, I forbear to speak. He is now removed from such low strife, and there is an end,—I cannot say of his chequered life, for his existence was one continued scene of suffering, of disquiet, of torment from injustice, oppression, and animosity by all who either held or looked up to emolument or aggrandisement, all who either possessed or courted them; but the grave has closed over his unrelenting persecutions. Unrelenting I may well call them, for they have not spared his ashes. The evil passions which

beset his steps in life have not ceased to pursue his memory with a resentment more relentless, more implacable than death. But it is yours to vindicate the broken laws of your country. If your verdict shall have no effect on the defendant, if he still go on unrepenting and unabashed, it will at least teach others, or it will warn them and deter them from violating the decency of private life, betraying sacred public duties, and insulting the majesty of the law.

LORD BROUGHAM.

CCLXXXV

Should our witnesses not exculpate the prisoner from the crimes charged on him, to the extent as charged in the indictment, I pray to God to give you the judgment and understanding to acquit him. Do not imagine I have made use of any arguments to mislead your consciences, or to distress your feelings: no! but if you conceive a doubt in your minds that the prisoner is innocent of the crime of high treason, I pray to God to give you firmness of mind to acquit him. I now leave you, gentlemen of the jury, to the free exercise of your own judgments in the verdict you may give. I have not, by way of supplication, addressed you in argument; I do not wish to distress your feelings from supplications; it would be most unbecoming to your candour and understanding; you are bound by your oath to find a true verdict according to the evidence, and you do not deserve the station of jurors the constitution has placed you in, if you do not discharge the trust the constitution has vested in you, to give your verdict freely and indifferently, according to your consciences.—CURRAN.

CCLXXXVI

Thus mediating between extremes, you will preserve this island long, and preserve her with a certain degree of renown. Thus faithful to the constitution of the country, you will

command and ensure her tranquillity ; for our best authority with the people is, protection afforded against the ministers of the Crown. It is not public clamour but public injury that should alarm you ; your high ground of expostulation with your fellow-subjects has been your services ; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free constitution you have given the island ! Make your third great effort ;—preserve them, and with them preserve unaltered your own calm sense of the public right, the dignity of the Parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island ! Keep them unsullied, uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unstipendiary ! These ways are the paths to glory ; and let me add, these ways are the ways of peace : so shall the prosperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the blessings of constitution and commerce, bear attestation to your services, and wait on your progress with involuntary praise !—GRATTAN.

CCLXXXVII

Compare the two schemes. This I offer to give you is plain and simple. The other full of perplexed and intricate mazes. This is mild ; that harsh. This is found by experience effectual for its purpose ; the other is a new project. This is universal ; the other calculated for certain colonies only. This is immediate in its conciliatory operation ; the other remote, contingent, full of hazard. Mine is what becomes the dignity of a ruling people,—gratuitous, unconditional, and not held out as matter of bargain and sale. I have done my duty in proposing it to you. I have indeed tired you by a long discourse ; but this is the misfortune of those to whose influence nothing will be conceded, and who must win every inch of their ground by argument. You have heard me with goodness. May you decide with wisdom ! For my part, I feel my mind greatly disburthened by what I have done

to-day. I have been the less fearful of trying your patience, because on this subject I mean to spare it altogether in future. I have this comfort, that in every stage of American affairs, I have steadily opposed the measures that have produced the confusion, and may bring on the destruction of this empire. I now go so far as to risk a proposal of my own. If I cannot give peace to my country, I give it to my conscience.—
BURKE.

CCLXXXVIII

Relying on the sure justice of history and of posterity, I care not, as far as I am personally concerned, whether we stand or fall. That issue it is for the House to decide. Whether the result be victory or defeat I know not. But I know that there are defeats not less glorious than any victory; and yet I have shared in some glorious victories. Those were proud and happy days; some who sit on the benches opposite can well remember, and must, I think, regret them; those were proud and happy days when, amidst the applauses and blessings of millions, my noble friend led us on in the great struggle for the Reform Bill; when hundreds waited round our doors till sunrise to hear how we had sped; when the great cities of the north poured forth their population on the highways to meet the mails which brought from the capital the tidings whether the battle of the people had been lost or won. Such days my noble friend cannot hope to see again. Two such triumphs would be too much for one life. But perhaps there still awaits him a less pleasing, a less exhilarating, but a not less honourable task, the task of contending against superior numbers, and through years of discomfort, for those civil and religious liberties which are inseparably associated with the name of his illustrious house.
—MACAULAY.



CCLXXXIX

Habits, connections, parties, all lead to diversity of opinion. But when inhumanity presents itself to our observations, it finds no division among us; we attack it as our common enemy; and, as if the character of this land was involved in our zeal for its ruin, we leave it not till it is completely overthrown. It is not given to this house to behold the objects of our compassion and benevolence in the present extensive consideration, as it was to the officers who relieved, and who so feelingly described the ecstatic emotions of gratitude in the instant of deliverance. We cannot behold the workings of the heart, the quivering lips, the trickling tears, the loud and yet tremulous joys of the millions whom our vote of this night will for ever save from the cruelty of corrupted power. But though we cannot directly see the effect, is not the true enjoyment of our benevolence increased by the blessing being conferred unseen? Will not the omnipotence of Britain be demonstrated to the wonder of nations, by stretching its mighty arm across the deep, and saving by its *fiat* distant millions from destruction? And will the blessings of the people thus saved dissipate in empty air? No! if I may dare to use the figure, we shall constitute heaven itself our proxy, to receive for us the blessings of their pious gratitude, and the prayers of their thanksgiving.—SHERIDAN.

CCXC

I am now drawing near to the close of a long life, and I must end it as I began it. If you strike out of it, my Lords, some efforts to secure the sacred privilege of impartial trial to the people of this country, and by example to spread it throughout the world, what would be left to me? What else seated me here? What else would there be to distinguish me from the most useless and insignificant among mankind?

Nothing—just nothing. And shall I, then, consent to this suicide, this worse than suicide of the body, this destruction of what alone can remain to me after death, the good-will of my countrymen? I dare not do that. Proceedings of this kind, my Lords, have never been countenanced but in the worst times, and have afterwards not only been reversed, but stigmatised. You were justly reminded that they were ordered by succeeding Parliaments to be taken off the file and burned, ‘to the end that the same might no longer be visible in after ages!’ But upon that I desire to repeat a sentiment which I remember to have expressed in struggling against arbitrary prosecution in former times, that, instead of directing these records to be burned, they ought rather to have been blazoned in all our tribunals, that they might enlarge and blacken in our sight to terrify us from acts of injustice. —ERSKINE.

CCXCI

I lament that a learned and right honourable member, with whom I once had the happiness of living on terms of friendship, is now absent; because I think I might rely upon his supporting the resolution I intend to propose; that support would perhaps renew the intercourse of our friendship, which has lately been interrupted. And I must beg the indulgence of the House to say, that that friendship was on the footing of perfect equality, not imposed by obligation on the one side, or bound by gratitude on the other; for I thank God, when that friendship commenced, I was above receiving obligation from any man, and therefore our friendship, as it was more pure and disinterested, as it depended on a sympathy of minds and a congeniality of sentiments, I trusted would have endured the longer. I think myself bound to make this public declaration, as it has gone forth from this House that I am a man of ingratitude, and to declare, that for any difference of opinion with my learned and right honourable friend I cannot be

taxed with ingratitude ; for that I never received any obligation from him, but lived on a footing of perfect equality, save only so far as his great talents and erudition outwent mine.
—CURRAN.

CCXCII

Is it not to those, who, actuated by selfish motives of ambition—(no, I will not say ambition ; I will not squander a word often applied to nobler aspirations on such base designs)—is it not to those who seek mischief for mischief's sake—who would let loose the whirlwind, though with the conscious incapacity to direct it—who would lay the fabric of social order in ruin, not so much in the hope of rising upon that ruin, as for the satisfaction of contemplating the havoc and desolation which they had made—who, outcasts of society, would revenge themselves upon society by scattering and dissolving the very elements of which it is composed—is it not to such persons—to the assemblers of those alarming multitudes, under the preposterous pretence of petition or deliberation, but in fact for the purposes of intimidation and disorder—that are to be justly attributed all the consequences which follow upon assemblages so wantonly congregated, and upon passions so wickedly inflamed ? To them the widowed mother and orphaned child must trace their miseries ! On their heads be for ever fixed the responsibility of all the blood that has been shed !—CANNING.

CCXCIII

I should fail of discharging a duty which I owe as a citizen of this country, and as a member of this House—a debt of gratitude on public grounds, but a debt of strict justice as well—did I not express my deep sense of the public virtue, no less than the great capacity and the high moral courage

which my right honourable friend at the head of the Government has exhibited in dealing with this question. He cast away all personal and private considerations of what description soever, and, studiously disregarding his own interest in every stage and step of his progress, he has given up what to a political leader is the most enviable of all positions,—the calm, unquestioned, undivided support of Parliament; he has exposed himself to the frenzy of the most tempest-troubled sea that the political world in our days perhaps ever exhibited. He has given up what to an ambitious man is much—the security of his power; he has given up what to a calculating man is much—influence and authority with his party; he has given up what to an amiable man is much indeed—private friendships and party connections; and all these sacrifices he has voluntarily encountered in order to discharge what (be he right or be he wrong) he deemed a great public duty.

LORD BROUGHAM.

CCXCIV

Certainly there never was a time when the distress and confusion of the interior circumstances of this nation made it more absolutely necessary to be upon secure and peaceable terms with our neighbours: but I am inclined to suspect, and indeed it is an opinion too generally received, that this appearance of good understanding with our neighbours deserves the name of stagnation, rather than of tranquillity; that it is owing not so much to the success of our negotiations abroad, as to the absolute and entire suspension of them for a very considerable time. Consuls, envoys, and ambassadors, it is true, have been regularly appointed, but instead of repairing to their stations, they have, in the most scandalous manner, loitered at home; as if they had either no business to do, or were afraid of exposing themselves to the resentment or derision of the Court to which they were destined. At

this rate, sir, foreign powers may well permit us to be quiet : it would be equally useless and unreasonable in them to interrupt a tranquillity which we submit to purchase upon such inglorious terms, or to quarrel with an humble, passive government, which has neither spirit to assert a right nor to resent an injury. In the distracted, broken, miserable state of our interior government, our enemies find a consolation and remedy for all that they suffered in the course of the war, and our councils amply revenge them for the successes of our arms.—BURKE.

CCXCV

Here gentlemen, who cannot deny the disease, postpone the remedy ; wait till the army returns ; that is, wait for another arrear : debating as we now do about preventing a mischief, the languor of the country interposes, and modestly recommends to the people to postpone the remedy until the mischief has happened. Will those gentlemen, who know with how dilatory a step ministers generally move to frugality, recollect it would be difficult to bring reduction, determined upon this day, into operation, before the army will come back on the revenues ? If you say it will be time enough to retrench when the army returns, you admit the practicability of retrenchment ; and if it is practicable at any time, when will a nation, in debt a million, put it into practice ? When, but now ? Now, when your resolution can operate time enough to make way for the return of the army. Or, will you wait until the present expense roots itself deeper into the establishment ; until a new profusion shall be engrafted upon the old ; until the prodigality, which it is now our object to reduce, shall become henceforth the standard of reduction ?—GRATTAN.

CCXCVI

There the most august and striking spectacle was daily exhibited which the world ever witnessed. A vast stage of justice was erected, awful from its high authority, splendid from its illustrious dignity, venerable from the learning and wisdom of its judges, captivating and affecting from the mighty concourse of all ranks and conditions which daily flocked into it as into a theatre of pleasure. Here, when the whole public mind was at once awed and softened to the impression of every human affection, there appeared day after day, one after another, men of the most powerful and exalted talents, eclipsing by their accusing eloquence the most boasted harangues of antiquity ; rousing the pride of national resentment by the boldest invectives against broken faith and violated treaties, and shaking the bosom with alternate pity and horror by the most glowing pictures of insulted nature and humanity ; ever animated and energetic from the love of fame, which is the inherent passion of genius ; firm and indefatigable, from a strong prepossession of the justice of their cause.—ERSKINE.

CCXCVII

Gentlemen of the jury, I was cautioning you against being prejudiced against my unfortunate client ; I fear there is much reason why I should caution you against the influence of any prejudice against the prisoner at the bar. You are to decide on your verdict by the evidence given and the evidence that, on the part of the prisoner, will be laid before you, and you will see the evidence does not support the prosecution. You will banish any prejudices, and let your verdict be the result of cool and deliberate investigation, and not given in the heat of the season when men's minds may be heated by the circumstances of the times. I shall lay before you the case of my client to controvert the evidence given on the part of the

prosecution, and shall offer to your consideration some observations in point of law, under the judicial control of the Court, as to matter of law. I will strip my client's case from the extraneous matter that has been attempted to be fastened on it. I feel, gentlemen, the more warm when I speak to you in favour of my client's innocence, and to bring his innocence home to your judgments. I know the honesty and rectitude of your characters, and I know my client has nothing to fear from your understanding.—CURRAN.

CCXCVIII

There is an argument, which has been used by an ancient orator, the greatest orator that perhaps the world ever saw, which, in my opinion, is not inapplicable to the present situation of the country. Demosthenes uses this brilliant, and, in my opinion, no less solid than brilliant argument in the introduction to one of his noblest orations. When he observed the conduct and the fate of the Athenians, and compared their calamities with the mismanagement of their rulers, this mismanagement so far from being a cause of despair, he directly stated as a ground of hope. 'If,' said he, 'they had fallen into these misfortunes by the course of natural and irremediable causes, then, indeed, there would be reason for despair, if, on the contrary, they are the fruits of folly and misconduct, it may be possible, by wisdom and prudence, to repair the evil.' In the same manner I would argue on the present occasion. Had we not fallen into our present situation from plans ill formed and worse executed; if every minister had been wise, and every enterprise ably executed, then, indeed, our state would have been truly deplorable. But if our policy has been erroneous and our measures ill conducted, we may still entertain some hope, because our errors may be corrected, and the losses from our misconduct retrieved.—FOX.

DISSERTATION

CCXCIX

The benevolent regards and purposes of men in masses seldom can be supposed to extend beyond their own generation. They may look to posterity as an audience, may hope for its attention, and labour for its praise: they may trust to its recognition of unacknowledged merit, and demand its justice for contemporary wrong. But all this is mere selfishness, and does not involve the slightest regard to, or consideration of, the interest of those by whose numbers we would fain swell the circle of our flatterers, and by whose authority we would gladly support our presently disputed claims. The ideal of self-denial for the sake of posterity, of practising present economy for the sake of debtors yet unborn, of planting forests that our descendants may live under their shade, or of raising cities for future nations to inhabit, never, I suppose, efficiently takes place among publicly recognised motives of exertion.—RUSKIN.

CCC

If you read any man partially bitter against others, as differing from him in opinion, or as cross to his greatness, interest, or designs, take heed how you believe any more than the historical evidence, distinct from his word, compelleth you to believe. The prodigious lies which have been published in this age in matters of fact, with unblushing confidence, even where thousands or multitudes of eye- and ear-witnesses knew all to be false, doth call men to take heed what history they believe, especially where power and violence affordeth that privilege to the reporter, that no man dare answer him, or detect his frauds; or if they do, their writings

are all suppress. As long as men have liberty to examine and contradict one another, one may partly conjecture, by comparing their words, on which side the truth is like to lie. But when great men write history, or flatterers by their appointment, which no man dare contradict, believe it but as you are constrained.—BAXTER.

CCCI

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh, indeed, a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another: he tosseth his thoughts more easily—he marshalleth them more orderly—he seeth how they look when they are turned into words—finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that, more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, 'That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad—whereby the imagery doth appear in figure, whereas in thought they lie but as in packs.'—SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

CCCII

Pity is imagination or fiction of future calamity to ourselves, proceeding from the sense of another man's calamity. But when it lighteth on such as we think have not deserved the same, the compassion is greater, because then there appeareth more probability that the same may happen to us; for the evil that happeneth to an innocent man may

happen to every man. But when we see a man suffer for great crimes, which we cannot easily think will fall upon ourselves, the pity is the less. And therefore men are apt to pity those whom they love; for whom they love they think worthy of good, and therefore not worthy of calamity. Thence it is also, that men pity the vices of some persons at the first sight only, out of love to their aspect. The contrary of pity is hardness of heart, proceeding either from slowness of imagination, or some extreme great opinion of their own exemption from the like calamity, or from hatred of all or most men. Indignation is that grief which consisteth in the conception of good success happening to them whom they think unworthy thereof. Seeing, therefore, men think all those unworthy whom they hate, they think them not only unworthy of the good fortune they have, but also of their own virtues. And of all the passions of the mind, these two, indignation and pity, are most raised and increased by eloquence, for the aggravation of the calamity, and extenuation of the fault augmenteth pity; and the extenuation of the worth of the person, together with the magnifying of his success, which are the parts of an orator, are able to turn these two passions into fury.—HOBBS.

CCCIII

This perverse judgment of fathers, as concerning the fitness and unfitness of their children, causeth the commonwealth have many unfit ministers; and seeing that ministers be, as a man would say, instruments wherewith the commonwealth doth work all her matters withal, I marvel how it chanceth that a poor shoemaker hath so much wit, that he will prepare no instrument for his science, neither knife nor awl, nor nothing else, which is not very fit for him. The commonwealth can be content to take at a fond father's hand the riff-raff of the world, to make those instruments of where-

withal she should work the highest matters under heaven. And surely an awl of lead is not so unprofitable in a shoemaker's shop, as an unfit minister made of gross metal is unseemly in the commonwealth. Fathers in old time, among the noble Persians, might not do with their children as they thought good, but as the judgment of the commonwealth always thought best. This fault, and many such like, might be soon wiped away, if fathers would bestow their children always on that thing, whereunto nature hath ordained them most apt and fit. For if youth be grafted straight and not awry, the whole commonwealth will flourish thereafter.—ROGER ASCHAM.

CCCIV

They reckon up several sorts of these pleasures, which they call true ones; some belong to the body, and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in the delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed, either by the recruiting of nature, and supplying those parts on which the internal heat of life feeds; and that is done by eating or drinking: or when nature is eased of any surcharge that oppresses it. There is another kind of this sort of pleasure, that neither gives us anything that our bodies require, nor frees us from anything with which we are overcharged; and yet it excites our nerves by a secret unseen virtue, and by a generous impression it so tickles and affects them, that it turns inwardly upon themselves; and this is the pleasure begot by music.—MORE'S *Utopia*.

CCCV

All economy, whether of states, households, or individuals, may be defined to be the art of managing labour. The world is so well regulated by the laws of Providence, that a man's labour, well applied, is always amply sufficient to provide him during his life, with all things needful to him, and not only with those, but with many pleasant objects of luxury ; and yet farther, to procure him large intervals of healthful rest and serviceable leisure. And a nation's labour, well applied, is in like manner amply sufficient to provide its whole population with good food and comfortable habitation ; and not with those only, but with good education besides, and objects of luxury, art treasures, such as these you have around you now. But by those same laws of Nature and Providence, if the labour of the nation or of the individual be misapplied, and much more, if it be insufficient,—if the nation or man be indolent and unwise,—suffering and want result, exactly in proportion to the indolence and improvidence,—to the refusal of labour, or to the misapplication of it.—RUSKIN.

CCCVI

I never yet knew any man so bad but some have thought him honest, and afforded him love ; nor ever any so good, but some have thought him evil, and hated him. Few are so stigmatical as that they are not honest to some, and few, again, are so just, as that they seem not to some unequal : either the ignorance, the envy, or the partiality of those that judge, do constitute a various man. Nor can a man in himself always appear like to all. In some, nature hath invested a disparity ; in some, report hath fore-blinded judgment ; and in some, accident is the cause of disposing us to love or hate. Or, if not these, the variation of the bodies' humours ; or, perhaps, not any of these. The soul is often led by secret

motions ; and loves, she knows not why. There are impulsive privacies which urge us to a liking, even against the parliamentary acts of the two Houses, reason, and the common sense ; as if there were some hidden beauty, of a more magnetic force than all that the eye can see ; and this, too, more powerful at one time than another. Undiscovered influences please us now, with what we would sometimes contemn. I have come to the same man that hath now welcomed me with a free expression of love and courtesy, and another time hath left me unsaluted at all ; yet, knowing him well, I have been certain of his sound affection ; and have found this, not an intended neglect, but an indisposedness, or a mind seriously busied within. Occasion reins the notions of the stirring mind. Like men that walk in their sleep, we are led about, we neither know whither nor how.—FELLTHAM.

CCCVII

And what I have said of assent is also true in dissent ; for the mind of man, not crazed nor prejudiced, will fully and irreconcilably disagree, by its own natural sagacity, where, notwithstanding, the thing that it doth thus resolvedly and undoubtedly reject, no wit of man can prove impossible to be true. As if we should make such a fiction as this—that Archimedes, with the same individual body that he had when the soldier slew him, is now safely intent upon his geometrical figures underground, at the centre of the earth, far from the noise and din of this world, that might disturb his meditations, or distract him in his curious delineations he makes with his rod upon the dust ; which no man living can prove impossible. Yet, if any man does not as irreconcilably dissent from such a fable as this, as from any falsehood imaginable, assuredly that man is next door to madness or dotage, or does enormous violence to the free use of his faculties.

HENRY MORE.

CCCVIII

Would you see how ridiculously we abuse ourselves when we thus neglect our own knowledge, and securely hazard ourselves upon others' skill? Give me leave, then, to show you a perfect pattern of it, and to report to you what I find in Seneca the philosopher, recorded of a gentleman in Rome, who, being purely ignorant, yet greatly desirous to seem learned, procured himself many servants, of which some he caused to study the poets, some the orators, some the historians, some the philosophers, and in a strange kind of fancy, all their learning he verily thought to be his own, and persuaded himself that he knew all that his servants understood; yea, he grew to that height of madness in this kind, that, being weak in body and diseased in his feet, he provided himself of wrestlers and runners, and proclaimed games and races, and performed them by his servants; still applauding himself, as if himself had done them.—JOHN HALES.

CCCIX

Belief I define to be the healthy act of a man's mind. It is a mysterious, indescribable process, that of getting to believe; indescribable, as all vital acts are. We have our mind given us, not that it may cavil and argue, but that it may see into something, give us clear belief and understanding about something, whereon we then proceed to act. Doubt, truly, is not itself a crime. Certainly we do not rush out, clutching up the first thing we find, and straightway believe that! All manner of doubt, inquiry, *σκέψις*, as it is named, about all manner of objects, dwells in every reasonable mind. It is the mystic working of the mind on the object it is *getting* to know and believe. Belief comes out of all this, above ground, like the tree from its hidden roots. But now, if, even on common

things, we require that a man keep his doubts *silent*, and not babble of them till they in some measure become affirmations or denials ; how much more in regard to the highest things, impossible to speak of in words at all !—CARLYLE.

CCCX

If it were possible that a people brought up under an intolerant and arbitrary system, could subvert that system without acts of cruelty and folly, half the objections to despotic power would be removed. We should in that case be compelled to acknowledge that it at least produces no pernicious effects on the intellectual and moral character of a nation. We deplore the outrages which accompany revolutions. But the more violent the outrages, the more assured we feel that a revolution was necessary. The violence of these outrages will always be proportioned to the ferocity and ignorance of the people ; and the ferocity and ignorance of the people will be proportioned to the oppression and degradation under which they have been accustomed to live.—MACAULAY.

CCCXI

Persecution is the natural impulse, in those who think a certain thing right and important or worth guarding, to disable those who, thinking it wrong, are trying to discredit and upset it, and to substitute something different. It implies a state of war, and the resort to the most available weapons to inflict damage on those who are regarded as rebellious and dangerous. These weapons were formidable enough once ; they are not without force still. But in its mildest form—personal disqualification or proscription—it is a disturbance which only war justifies. It may, of course, make itself odious by its modes of proceeding, by meanness and shabbiness and violence, by underhand and ignoble methods of misrepresen-

tation and slander, or by cruelty and plain injustice ; and then the odium of these things fairly falls upon it. But it is very hard to draw the line between conscientious repression, feeling itself bound to do what is possible to prevent mischief, and what those who are opposed, if they are the weaker party, of course call persecution.—R. W. CHURCH.

CCCXII

The laws, in creating property, have created wealth ; but, with respect to poverty, it is not the work of the laws—it is the primitive condition of the human race. The man who lives only from day to day is precisely the man in a state of nature. The savage, the poor in society, I acknowledge, obtains nothing but by painful labour ; but in a state of nature what could he obtain but at the price of his toil ? Has not hunting its fatigues, fishing its dangers, war its uncertainties ? And if man appear to love this adventurous life—if he have an instinct greedy of these kinds of peril—if the savage rejoice in the delights of an idleness so dearly purchased—ought it to be concluded that he is more happy than our day labourers ? No : the labour of these is more uniform, but the reward is more certain ; the lot of the woman is more gentle, infancy and old age have more resources ; the species multiplies in a proportion a thousand times greater, and this alone would suffice to show on which side is the superiority of happiness. Hence the laws, in creating property, have been benefactors to those who remain in their original poverty. They participate more or less in the pleasures, advantages, and resources of civilised society ; their industry and labour place them among the candidates for fortune ; they enjoy the pleasures of acquisition ; hope mingles with their labours. The security which the law gives them, is this of little importance ?—BENTHAM.

CCCXIII

The last thing is, the government of the tongue as relating to discourse of the affairs of others, and giving of characters. These are, in a manner, the same; and one can scarcely call it an indifferent subject, because discourse upon it almost perpetually runs into something criminal. And first of all, it were very much to be wished that this did not take up so great a part of conversation; because it is indeed a subject of a dangerous nature. Let any one consider the various interests, competitions, and little misunderstandings which arise amongst men, and he will soon see that he is not unprejudiced and impartial; that he is not, as I may speak, neutral enough, to trust himself with talking of the character and concerns of his neighbour, in a free, careless, and unreserved manner. There is perpetually, and often it is not attended to, a rivalry amongst people of one kind or another, in respect of wit, beauty, learning, or fortune, and that one thing will insensibly influence them to speak to the disadvantage of others, even where there is no formed malice or ill design. Since, therefore, it is so hard to enter into this subject without offending, the first thing to be observed is, that people should learn to decline it, to get over that strong inclination most have to be talking of the concerns and behaviour of their neighbour. But since it is impossible that this subject should be wholly excluded conversation, and since it is necessary that the characters of men should be known; the next thing is, that it is a matter of importance what is said, and, therefore, that we should be religiously scrupulous and exact to say nothing, either good or bad, but what is true.—BUTLER.

CCCXIV

Darkness and light divide the course of time, and oblivion shares with memory a great part even of our living beings; we slightly remember our felicities—the smartest strokes

leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables. Afflictions induce callosities ; miseries are slippery, or fall like snow upon us, which notwithstanding is no unhappy stupidity. To be ignorant of evils to come, and forgetful of evils past, is a merciful provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few and evil days, and, our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our sorrows are not kept raw by the edge of repetitions. A great part of antiquity contented their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls—a good way to continue their memories, while, having the advantage of plural successes, they could not but act something remarkable in such variety of beings, and, enjoying the fame of their past selves, make accumulation of glory unto their last durations. Others, rather than be lost in the uncomfortable of nothing, were content to recede into the common being, and make one particle of the public soul of all things, which was no more than to return into their unknown and divine original again. Egyptian ingenuity was more unsatisfied, contriving their bodies in sweet consistencies, to attend the return of their souls. But all was vanity, feeding the wind, and folly. The Egyptian mummies, which Cambyzes or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth. Mummy is become merchandise, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsams.—
SIR T. BROWNE.

CCCXV

A general consent is the ground of all just government ; for violence or fraud can create no right ; and the same consent gives the form to them all, how much soever they differ from each other. Some small numbers of men, living within the precincts of one city, have, as it were, cast into a common stock the right which they had of governing themselves and

children, and, by common consent joining in one body, exercised such power over every single person as seemed beneficial to the whole; and this men call perfect democracy. Others choose rather to be governed by a select number of such as most excelled in wisdom and virtue; and this, according to the signification of the word, was called aristocracy; or when one man excelled all others, the government was put into his hands, under the name of monarchy. But the wisest, best, and far the greatest part of mankind, rejecting these simple species, did form governments mixed or composed of the three, as shall be proved hereafter, which commonly received their respective denominations from the part that prevailed, and did deserve praise or blame as they were well or ill proportioned.—ALGERNON SIDNEY.

CCCXVI

It were a folly hereupon to say that the liberty for which we contend is of no use to us, since we cannot endure the solitude, barbarity, weakness, want, misery, and dangers that accompany it whilst we live alone, nor can enter into a society without resigning it; for the choice of that society, and the liberty of framing it according to our own wills, for our own good, is all we seek. This remains to us whilst we form governments, that we ourselves are judges how far it is good for us to recede from our natural liberty; which is of so great importance, that from thence only we can know whether we are free men or slaves; and the difference between the best government and the worst doth wholly depend on a right or wrong exercise of that power. If men are naturally free, such as have wisdom and understanding will always frame good governments; but if they are born under the necessity of a perpetual slavery, no wisdom can be of use to them; but all must for ever depend on the will of their lords, how cruel, mad, proud, or wicked soever they be.—ALGERNON SYDNEY.



CCCXVII

There is no writer but may fail sometimes in point of wit, and it is no less frequent for the auditors to fail in point of judgment. I perceive plainly, by daily experience, that fortune is mistress of the theatre, as Tully says it is of all popular assemblies. No man can tell sometimes from whence the invisible winds rise that move them. There are a multitude of people who are truly and only spectators at a play, without any use of their understanding, and these carry it sometimes by the strength of their numbers. There are others who use their understandings too much ; who think it a sign of weakness and stupidity to let anything pass by them unattacked, and that the honour of their judgments (as some brutals imagine of their courage) consists in quarrelling with everything. We are therefore wonderfully wise men, and have a fine business of it, we who spend our time in poetry. I do sometimes laugh, and am often angry with myself, when I think on it, and if I had a son inclined by nature to the same folly, I believe I should bind him from it by the strictest conjurations of a paternal blessing. For what can be more ridiculous than to labour to give men delight, whilst they labour, on their part more earnestly, to take offence ?—COWLEY.

CCCXVIII

We find but few historians, of all ages, who have been diligent enough in their search for truth ; it is their common method to take on trust what they distribute to the public ; by which means a falsehood once received from a famed writer becomes traditional to posterity. But Polybius weighed the authors from whom he was forced to borrow the history of the times immediately preceding his, and oftentimes corrected them, either by comparing them each with other, or by the lights which he had received from ancient men of known integrity amongst the Romans, who had been conversant in

those affairs which were then managed, and were yet living to instruct him. He also learned the Roman tongue, and attained to that knowledge of their laws, their rights, their customs, and antiquities, that few of their own citizens understood them better; having gained permission from the Senate to search the Capitol, he made himself familiar with their records, and afterwards translated them into his mother-tongue. So that he taught the noblemen of Rome their own municipal laws, and was accounted more skilful in them than Fabius Pictor, a man of the senatorian order, who wrote the transactions of the Punic Wars.—DRYDEN.

CCCXIX

When a government flourishes in conquests, and is secure from foreign attacks, it naturally falls into all the pleasures of luxury; and as these pleasures are very expensive, they put those who are addicted to them upon raising fresh supplies of money by all the methods of rapaciousness and corruption; so that avarice and luxury very often become one complicated principle of action in those whose hearts are wholly set upon ease, magnificence, and pleasure. The most elegant and correct of all the Latin historians observes that in his time, when the most formidable states of the world were subdued by the Romans, the republic sunk into those two vices of a quite different nature, luxury and avarice; and accordingly describes Catiline as one who coveted the wealth of other men at the same time that he squandered away his own. This observation on the commonwealth, when it was in its height of power and riches, holds good of all governments that are settled in a state of ease and prosperity. At such times men naturally endeavour to outshine one another in pomp and splendor, and having no fears to alarm them from abroad, indulge themselves in the enjoyment of all the pleasures they can get into their possession, which naturally produces avarice, and an immoderate pursuit after wealth and riches.—*Spectator*, No. 55.

CCCXX

But this merciless abuse of the judicial office is really a light evil compared with that savage spirit of faction which the government scrupled not to elicit and employ. Vigorous, and what to bystanders seems cruel repression, may be carried on upon some sort of principle, even though in its exercise the laws not only of humanity but of truth are broken without much scruple. But the deliberate sanctioning of the spirit of civil feud is such a deadly blow to the existence of society, that on no principle that a government could dare to avow can it be justified. That fierce sects existed in the Roman states was, indeed, a terrible evil; that the opposition to government took the shape of conspiracy, aiding itself by secret societies, was a serious danger. But the Roman government did their best to legitimate and perpetuate this fatal temper when it used the like instruments on its own side, and allowed them to dignify themselves with sacred names.—R. W. CHURCH.

CCCXXI

Memory, of all the powers of the mind, is the most delicate and frail; it is the first of our faculties that age invades. Seneca, the father, the rhetorician, confesseth of himself he had a miraculous one, not only to receive, but to hold. I myself could, in my youth, have repeated all that ever I had made, and so continued till I was past forty; since, it is much decayed in me. Yet I can repeat whole books that I have read, and poems of some selected friends, which I have liked to charge my memory with. It was wont to be faithful to me, but shaken with age now and sloth, which weakens the strongest abilities, it may perform somewhat, but cannot promise much. By exercise it is to be made better and serviceable. Whatsoever I pawned with it while I was young and a boy, it offers me readily, and without stops; but

what I trust to it now, or have done of later years, it lays up more negligently, and oftentimes loses; so that I receive mine own (though frequently called for) as if it were new and borrowed. Nor do I always find presently from it what I seek; but while I am doing another thing, that I laboured for will come, and what I sought with trouble will offer itself when I am quiet. Now, in some men I have found it as happy as nature, who, whatsoever they read or penned, they can say without book presently, as if they did then write in their mind. And it is more a wonder in such as have a swift style, for their memories are commonly slow; such as torture their writings, and go into council for every word, must needs fix somewhat, and make it their own at last, though but through their own vexation.—BEN JONSON.

CCCXXII

In recalling the impressions we have received from the works of man after a lapse of time long enough to involve in obscurity all but the most vivid, it often happens that we find a strange pre-eminence and durability in many upon whose strength we had little calculated, and that points of character which had escaped the detection of the judgment became developed under the waste of memory; as veins of harder rock, whose places could not at first have been discovered by the eye, are left salient under the action of frosts and streams. The traveller who desires to correct the errors of his judgment, necessitated by inequalities of temper, infelicities of circumstance, and accidents of association, has no other resource than to wait for the calm verdict of interposing years, and to watch for the new arrangements of eminence and shape in the images which remain latest in his memory; as in the ebbing of a mountain lake he would watch the varying outline of its successive shore, and trace, in the form of its departing waters, the true direction of the forces which had cleft, or the currents which had excavated the deepest recesses of its primal bed.—RUSKIN.

CCCXXIII

By far the most interesting fact I hear about the Chinese is one on which we cannot arrive at clearness, but which excites endless curiosity even in the dim state: this, namely, that they do attempt to make their Men of Letters their Governors! It would be rash to say one understood how this was done, or with what degree of success it was done. All such things must be very *unsuccessful*, yet a small degree of success is precious; the very attempt how precious! There does seem to be all over China a more or less active search everywhere to discover the men of talent that grow up in the young generation. Schools there are for every one: a foolish sort of training, yet still a sort. The youths who distinguish themselves in the lower school are promoted into favourable stations in the higher, that they may still more distinguish themselves—forward and forward: it appears to be out of these that the Official Persons and incipient Governors are taken. These are they whom they *try* first, whether they can govern or not. And surely with the best hope, for they are the men that have already shown intellect. Try them, they have not governed or administered as yet; perhaps they cannot, but there is no doubt they *have* some Understanding, without which no man can! Neither is Understanding a *tool*, as we are apt to figure, 'it is a *hand* which can handle any tool.'—CARLYLE.

CCCXXIV

Some have sought after felicity in honour and authority, others in curiosity and knowledge, and a third tribe in the pleasures and enjoyments of sense. These three leading pursuits have constituted as many factions, and those whom we compliment with the name of philosophers have really done nothing else but resigned themselves up to one of the

three. Such amongst them as made the nearest approaches to truth and happiness, well considered that it was necessary the universal good which all desire, and in which each man ought to be allowed his portion, should not consist in any of the private blessings of this world, which can be properly enjoyed but by one alone, and which, if divided, do more grieve and afflict each possessor, for want of the part which he has not, than they oblige and gratify him with the part which he has. They rightly apprehend that the true good ought to be such as all may possess at once, without diminution, and without contention, and such as no man can be deprived of against his will. They apprehended this, but they were unable to attain and execute it, and instead of a solid, substantial happiness, took up at last with the empty shadow of visionary excellence.—*Translated from PASCAL'S Pensées.*

CCCCXV

Luxury has its own masks and disguises too ; for it transforms itself into virtue, whilst, like that, it runs faster from avarice, and laughs more loudly at it than liberality itself does, and to that height that it seems to be angry at liberality, as being only a kind of niggardliness. It pretends to keep open table to those who starve, and to have an open purse always for men of merit. Beauty and learning are its pensioners, and all manner of divertisements are still in his retinue. It obliges the peaceable to favour it, as an enemy to everything that is uneasy ; and it engages men of parts to speak for it, because, whilst it lavishes the treasures others have hoarded up, it feeds the hope and expectations of such as were provided by nature of nothing but a stock of wit. And there being seldom other matches betwixt liberality and prodigality but such as are to be measured by exact reflections upon the estates of the spenders, it sometimes praises that as liberality which ought to be condemned as luxury ;

and even where the transgression may be discerned, the bribed and interested multitude will not acknowledge that liberality, by exceeding its bounds, has lost its name. Some, also, from the same principle, authorise this vice by the pretext of law, crying out that every man shall have liberty to dispose of his own as he pleases, and by the good of commerce, saying, with a serious face, that frugality would ruin all trade, and if no man spent beyond his measure riches would not circulate; nor should virtuous, laborious, or witty men find in this circulation occasions to excite or reward their industry. And from this, probably, flows the law of England's not interdicting prodigals, denying him the administration of his own estate, as the laws of other nations do.—
MACKENZIE.

CCCXXVI

A greater curse cannot befall the most wicked nation than to be deprived of peace. There is nothing of real and substantial comfort in this world but what is the product of peace; and whatsoever we may lawfully and innocently take delight in is the fruit and the effect of peace. The solemn service of God, and performing our duty to Him in the service of regular devotion, which is the greatest business of our life, and in which we ought to take most delight, is the issue of peace. War breaks all that order, interrupts all that devotion, and even extinguishes all that zeal, which peace had kindled in us; lays waste the dwelling-place of God as well as man; and introduces and propagates opinion and practice as much against heaven as against earth, and erects a deity that delights in nothing but cruelty and blood. Are we pleased with the enlarged commerce and society of large and opulent cities, or with the retired pleasures of the country? Do we love stately palaces, and noble houses, or take delight in pleasant groves and woods, or fruitful gardens which teach and instruct nature to produce and bring forth more fruits,

and flowers, and plants, than her own store can supply her with ? All this we owe to peace, and the dissolution of this peace disfigures all this beauty, and in a short time covers and buries all this order and delight in ruin and rubbish. Finally, have we any content, satisfaction, and joy, in the conversation of each other, in the knowledge and understanding of those arts and sciences, which more adorn mankind than all those buildings and plantations do the fields and grounds on which they stand ? Even this is the blessed effect and legacy of peace ; and war lays our natures and manners as waste as our gardens and our habitations ; and we can as easily preserve the beauty of the one as the integrity of the other, under the cursed jurisdiction of drums and trumpets. —CLARENDON.

CCCXXVII

Simonides, it is related, upon landing in a strange country, found the corpse of an unknown person lying by the sea-side ; he buried it, and was honoured throughout Greece for the piety of that act. Another ancient philosopher, chancing to fix his eyes upon a dead body, regarded the same with slight, if not with contempt, saying, ‘ See the shell of a flown bird ! ’ But it is not to be supposed that the moral and tender-hearted Simonides was incapable of the lofty movements of thought to which that other sage gave way at the moment while his soul was intent only upon the indestructible being ; nor, on the other hand, that he, in whose sight a lifeless human body was of no more value than the worthless shell from which the living fowl had departed, would not in a different mood of mind have been affected by those earthly considerations which had incited the philosophic poet to the performance of that pious duty. And with regard to this latter we may be assured that, if he had been destitute of the capability of communing with the more exalted thoughts that appertain to human nature, he would have cared no more for the corpse of the

stranger than for the dead body of a seal or a porpoise which might have been cast up by the waves. We respect the corporal frame of man, not merely because it is the habitation of a rational, but of an immortal, soul. Each of these sages was in sympathy with the best feelings of our nature; feelings which, though they seem opposite to each other, have another and a finer connection than that of contrast.

WORDSWORTH.

CCCXXVIII

All men follow that which seems advantageous to themselves. Such as are bred under a good discipline, and see that all benefits procured to their country by virtuous actions redound to the honour and advantage of themselves, their children, friends, and relations, contract from their infancy a love to the public, and look upon the common concerns as their own. When they have learnt to be virtuous, and see that virtue is in esteem, they seek no other preferments than such as may be obtained that way; and no country ever wanted great numbers of excellent men where this method was established. On the other side, when it is evident that the best are despised, hated, or marked out for destruction; all things calculated to the honour or advantage of one man, who is often the worst, or governed by the worst; honours, riches, commands and dignities disposed by his will, and his favour gained only by a most obsequious respect, or a pretended affection to his person, together with a servile obedience to his commands—all application to virtuous actions will cease; and, no man caring to render himself or his children worthy of great employments, such as desire to have them will, by little intrigues, corruption, scurrility, and flattery, endeavour to make way to them; by which means true merit in a short time comes to be abolished, as fell out in Rome as soon as the Caesars began to reign.—ALGERNON SIDNEY.

CCCXXIX

Forasmuch as all knowledge beginneth from experience, therefore also new experience is the beginning of new knowledge, and the increase of experience the beginning of the increase of knowledge. Whatsoever, therefore, happeneth new to a man giveth him matter of hope of knowing somewhat that he knew not before. And this hope and expectation of future knowledge from anything that happeneth new and strange, is that passion which we commonly call admiration; and the same considered as appetite is called curiosity, which is appetite of knowledge. As in the discerning of faculties, man leaveth all community of beasts at the faculty of imposing names, so also doth he surmount their nature at this passion of curiosity. For when a beast seeth anything new and strange to him, he considereth it so far only as to discern whether it be likely to serve his turn or hurt him, and accordingly approacheth nearer to it, or fleeth from it; whereas man, who in most events remembereth in what manner they were caused and begun, looketh for the cause and beginning of everything that ariseth new unto him. And from this passion of admiration and curiosity have arisen not only the invention of names, but also supposition of such causes of all things as they thought might produce them. And from this beginning is derived all philosophy, as astronomy from the admiration of the course of heaven.—
HOBBS.

CCCXXX

The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays, give easy access, keep times appointed, go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands, or thy servants' hands, from

taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering ; for integrity, used, doth the one ; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other : and avoid not only the fault but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent ; severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery ; for bribes come but now and then, but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without.—BACON.

CCCCXXI

It is only by the habit of representing faithfully all things, that we can truly learn what is beautiful, and what is not. The ugliest objects contain some element of beauty ; and in all it is an element peculiar to themselves, which cannot be separated from their ugliness, but must either be enjoyed together with it or not at all. The more a painter accepts nature as he finds it, the more unexpected beauty he discovers in what he at first despised ; but once let him arrogate the right of rejection, and he will gradually contract his circle of enjoyment until what he supposed to be nobleness of selection ends in narrowness of perception. Dwelling perpetually upon one class of ideas, his art becomes at once monstrous and morbid ; until at last he cannot faithfully represent even what he chooses to retain ; his discrimination contracts into darkness, and his fastidiousness fades into fatuity.—RUSKIN.



CCCXXXII

We find that good and evil happen alike to all men on this side the grave ; and as the principal design of Tragedy is to raise commiseration and terror in the mind of the audience, we shall defeat this great end if we always make virtue and innocence happy and successful. Whatever crosses and disappointments a good man suffers in the body of the tragedy, they will make but small impression on our minds when we know that in the last act he is to arrive at the end of his wishes and desires. When we see him engaged in the depth of his afflictions, we are apt to comfort ourselves, because we are sure he will find his way out of them ; and that his grief, how great soever it may be at present, will soon terminate in gladness. For this reason the ancient writers of tragedy treated men in their plays as they are dealt with in the world, by making virtue sometimes happy and sometimes miserable, as they found it in the fable which they made choice of, or as it might affect their audience in the most agreeable manner. Aristotle considers the tragedies that were written in either of these kinds, and observes that those which ended unhappily had always pleased the people, and carried away the prize in the public disputes of the stage, from those that ended happily. Terror and commiseration leave a pleasing anguish in the mind, and fix the audience in such a serious composure of thought, as is much more lasting and delightful than any little transient starts of joy and satisfaction.—*Spectator*, No. 40.

CCCXXXIII

ALC. Tell me, Euphranor, whether truth be not one and the same uniform invariable thing : and if so, whether the many different and inconsistent notions which men entertain of God and duty be not a plain proof there is no truth in them ?
EUPH. That truth is constant and uniform I freely own, and

that consequently opinions repugnant to each other cannot be true : but I think it will not hence follow they are all alike false. If among various opinions about the same thing one be grounded on clear and evident reasons, that is to be thought true, and others only so far as they consist with it. Reason is the same, and rightly applied will lead to the same conclusions in all times and places. ALC. But still it would be a satisfaction if all men thought the same way, difference of opinions implying uncertainty. EUPH. Tell me, Alciphron, what you take to be the cause of a lunar eclipse. ALC. The shadow of the earth interposing between the sun and the moon. EUPH. Are you assured of this? ALC. Undoubtedly. EUPH. Are all mankind agreed in this truth? ALC. By no means. Ignorant and barbarous people assign different ridiculous causes to this appearance. EUPH. It seems, then, there are different opinions about the nature of an eclipse. ALC. There are. EUPH. And nevertheless one of these opinions is true. ALC. It is. EUPH. Diversity, therefore, of opinions about a thing doth not hinder but that the thing may be, and one of the opinions concerning it may be true. ALC. I acknowledge it.—BERKELEY.

CCCCXXIV

In the meantime Alciphron and Lysicles, having despatched what they went about, returned to us. Lysicles sate down where he had been before. But Alciphron stood over against us, with his arms folded across, and his head reclined on his left shoulder, in the posture of a man meditating. We sate silent not to disturb his thoughts ; and after two or three minutes he uttered these words : ‘Oh truth ! oh liberty !’ after which he remained musing as before. Upon this Euphranor took the freedom to interrupt him. Alciphron, said he, it is not fair to spend your time in soliloquies. The conversation of learned and knowing men is rarely met with in this corner, and the opportunity you have put into my

hands I value too much not to make the best use of it. ALC. Are you then in earnest a votary of truth, and is it possible you should bear the liberty of a fair inquiry? EUPH. It is what I desire of all things. ALC. What! upon every subject? upon the notions you first sucked in with your milk, and which have been ever since nursed by parents, pastors, tutors, books, and such methods of prepossessing men's minds? EUPH. I love information upon all subjects that come in my way, especially upon those that are most important. ALC. If, then, you are in earnest, hold fair, and stand firm, while I probe your prejudices and extirpate your principles:

Dum veteres avias tibi de pulmone revello.

BERKELEY.

CCCXXXV

HYLAS. What say you to this? Since, according to you, men judge of the reality of things by their senses, how can a man be mistaken in thinking the moon a plain lucid surface, about a foot in diameter, or a square tower, seen at a distance, round; or an oar, with one end in the water, crooked? PHILONOUS. He is not mistaken with regard to the ideas he actually perceives; but in the inferences he makes from his present perceptions. Thus in the case of the oar, what he immediately perceives by sight is certainly crooked; and so far he is right. But if he thence conclude that upon taking the oar out of the water he shall perceive the same crookedness; or that it would affect his touch, as crooked things are wont to do: in that he is mistaken. In like manner, if he shall conclude from what he perceives in one station, that in case he advances toward the moon or tower, he should still be affected with the like ideas, he is mistaken. But his mistake lies not in what he perceives immediately and at present, but in the wrong judgment he makes concerning the ideas he apprehends to be connected with those immediately perceived: or concerning the ideas that, from what he perceives at present, he imagines would be perceived in other circumstances.—BERKELEY.

CCCCXXXVI

Having heard these words, Euphranor looked at Crito and me, and said, smiling, I have mistaken my part ; it was mine to learn, and his to instruct. Then, addressing himself to Lysicles, Deal faithfully, said he, and let me know whether the public benefit of vice be in truth that which makes you plead for it? LYS. I love to speak frankly what I think. Know, then, that private interest is the first and principal consideration with philosophers of our sect. Now of all interests pleasure is that which hath the strongest charms, and no pleasures like those which are heightened and enlivened by licence. Herein consists the peculiar excellency of our principles, that they show people how to serve their country by diverting themselves, causing the two streams of public spirit and self-love to unite and run in the same channel. I have told you already that I admit a nation might subsist by the rules of virtue. But give me leave to say it will barely subsist in a dull, joyless, insipid state, whereas the sprightly excesses of vice inspire men with joy ; and where particulars rejoice, the public, which is made up of particulars, must do so too—that is, the public must be happy. This I take to be an irrefragable argument. But to give you its full force, and make it as plain as possible, I will trace things from their original.—BERKELEY.

CORRESPONDENCE

CCCCXXXVII

SWIFT TO POPE.

I would describe to you my way of living, if any method could be called so in the country. I choose my companions among those of least consequence and most compliance : I

read the most trifling books I can find, and whenever I write it is upon the most trifling subjects. But riding, walking, and sleeping take up eighteen of the twenty-four hours. I procrastinate more than I did twenty years ago, and have several things to finish which I put off to twenty years hence. I send you the compliments of a friend of yours, who hath passed four months this summer with two grave acquaintance at his country-house, without ever once going to Dublin, which is but eight miles distant; yet when he returns to London, I will engage you shall find him as deep in the court of requests, the park, the operas, and the coffee-house, as any man there. I am now with him for a few days.

CCCXXXVIII

POPE TO SWIFT.

I have every day wished to write to you, to say a thousand things; and yet, I think, I should not have writ to you now, if I was not sick of writing anything, sick of myself, and (what is worse) sick of my friends too. The world is become too busy for me; everybody is so concerned for the public, that all private enjoyments are lost or disrelished. I write more to show you I am tired of this life than to tell you anything relating to it. I live as I did, I think as I did, I love you as I did; but all these are to no purpose; the world will not live, think, or love as I do. I am troubled for and vexed at all my friends by turns. Here are some whom you love, and who love you; yet they receive no proofs of that affection from you, and they give none of it to you. There is a great gulf between. In earnest, I would go a thousand miles by land to see you, but the sea I dread. My ailments are such, that I really believe a sea-sickness would kill me; and if I did not die of that, I must of the excessive eating and drinking of your hospitable town, and the excessive flattery of your most poetical country. I hate to be crammed either

way. Let your hungry poets and your rhyming poets digest it, I cannot. I like much better to be abused and half-starved than to be over-praised and over-fed.

CCCXXXIX

SYDNEY SMITH TO MR. FLETCHER.

I am truly glad that any effort of mine in the cause of liberality and freedom meets with your approbation. You have lived a life of honour and honesty, truckling to no man, and disguising no opinion you entertained. I think myself much honoured by your praise. I will take care you have a copy of my speech as soon as I return to Foston from York, where I am now staying for a short course of noise, bad air, and dirt.

My letter is by this time nearly out of print: a thousand copies have disappeared, and I am printing another thousand; and I will take care you have one *from the author*, as a mark of his sincere regard and respect.

God bless you, my dear sir! I wish you a fertile garden, a warm summer, limbs without pain, and a tranquil mind. The remembrance of an honourable and useful life you have secured for yourself already.

CCCXL

You say you carried away regret from Cloyne. I assure you that you did not carry it all away: there was a good share of it left with us; which was on the following news-day increased upon hearing the fate of your niece. My wife could not read this piece of news without tears, though her knowledge of that amiable young lady was no more than one day's acquaintance. Her mournful widower is beset with many temporal blessings: but the loss of such a wife must be long felt through them all. Complete happiness is not to be

hoped for on this side Gascony. All those who are not Gascons must have a corner of woe to creep out at, and to comfort themselves with at parting from this world. Certainly if we had nothing to make us uneasy here, heaven itself would be less wished for. But I should remember I am writing to a philosopher; so shall turn my thoughts to politics, concluding with this sad reflection, that, happen what will, I see the Dutch are still to be favourites, though I much apprehend the hearts of some warm friends may be lost at home by endeavouring to gain the affections of those lukewarm neighbours.—BERKELEY.

CCCXLI

POPE TO GAY.

It is true that I write to you very seldom, and have no pretence of writing which satisfies me, because I have nothing to say that can give you much pleasure; only merely that I am in being, which in truth is of little consequence to one from whose conversation I am cut off by such accidents or engagements as separate us. I continue, and ever shall, to wish you all good and happiness. I wish that some lucky event might set you in a state of ease and independence all at once! and that I might live to see you as happy as this silly world and fortune can make any one. Are we never to live together more, as once we did? I find my life ebbing apace, and my affections strengthening as my age increases; not that I am worse, but better, in my health than last winter; but my mind finds no amendment nor improvement, nor support to lean upon from those about me: and so I feel myself leaving the world, as fast as it leaves me. Companions I have enough, friends few, and those too warm in the concerns of the world for me to bear pace with; or else so divided from me that they are but like the dead whose remembrance I hold in honour. Nature, temper, and habit, from my youth made

me have but one strong desire ; all other ambitions my person, education, constitution, religion, conspired to remove far from me. That desire was to fix and preserve a few lasting, dependable friendships : and the accidents which have disappointed me in it have put a period to my aims. So I am sunk into an idleness, which makes me neither care nor labour to be noticed by the rest of mankind ; I propose no rewards to myself, and why should I take any sort of pains ? Here I sit and sleep, and probably here I shall sleep till I sleep for ever. I hear of what passes in the busy world with so little attention, that I forget it the next day. And as to the learned world, there is nothing passes in it. I have no more to add, but that I am, with the same truth as ever, yours, etc.

CCCXLII

Your letter by last post was very agreeable : but the trembling hand in which it was written is a drawback from the satisfaction I should otherwise have had in hearing from you. If my advice had been taken, you would have escaped so many miserable months in the gout, and the bad air of Dublin. But advice against inclination is seldom successful. Mine was very sincere, though I must own a little interested : for we often wanted your enlivening company to dissipate the gloom of Cloyne. This I look on as enjoying France at second-hand. I wish any thing but the gout could fix you among us. But bustle and intrigue and great affairs have, and will, as long as you exist on this globe, fix your attention. For my own part, I submit to years and infirmities. My views in this world are mean and narrow ; it is a thing in which I have small share, and which ought to give me small concern. I abhor business, and especially to have to do with great persons and great affairs, which I leave to such as you, who delight in them and are fit for them. The evening of life I choose to pass in a quiet retreat. Ambitious projects,

intrigues and quarrels of statesmen, are things I have formerly been amused with; but they now seem to me a vain, fugitive dream. If you thought as I do, we should have more of your company, and you less of the gout. We have not those transports of you castle-hunters; but our lives are calm and serene. We do, however, long to see you open your budget of politics by our fire-side. My wife and all here salute you. The part you take in my son's recovery is very obliging to us all, and particularly to, etc.—BERKELEY.

CCCXLIII

SYDNEY SMITH TO MR. HORNER.

I remember no misfortune of my life which I have felt so deeply as the loss of your brother. I never saw any man who combined together so much talent, worth, and warmth of heart; and we lived together in habits of great friendship and affection for many years. I shall always retain a most lively and affectionate remembrance of him to the day of my death. We shall be most happy to see you here if you can make us a visit; I shall always meet you with those sentiments of regard and respect which are due to yourself, but never without deep feelings of grief and emotion.

I beg of you to give my very kind regards to your father and mother; it is in vain to speak of their loss, to write to them; I dare not do it.

CHARACTERISATION

CCCXLIV

He had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently, and effectually, without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offered; for, indeed, his judgment was so nice, that he could never frame any

speech beforehand to please himself; but his invention was so ready, and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand; he was not talkative, yet free of discourse; of a very spare diet, not given to sleep, and an early riser when in health; he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so; in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gathered from a bare dead description; there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him. To sum up, therefore, all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude that it was a very handsome and well-furnished lodging prepared for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there a while, till he was called back to the palace of the universal Emperor.—MRS. HUTCHINSON, *Description of Colonel Hutchinson*.

CCCXLV

Never Prince was so conversable nor so inquisitive as he, for his desire was to know everybody he could; and by these qualities he preserved the crown upon his head, which was in much danger by the enemies he had created to himself by his inadvertency upon his accession to the crown. But above all, his great bounty and liberality did him the greatest service. And yet, as he behaved himself wisely in time of distress, so when he thought himself a little out of danger, though it were but by a truce, he would disoblige the servants and officers of his court by mean, trifling ways, which were little to his advantage; and as for peace, he could hardly endure the thoughts of it. He spoke slightly of some people, and rather before their faces than behind their backs, unless he was afraid of them, and of that sort there were a great many,

for he was naturally timorous. When he had done himself any prejudice by his talk, or was apprehensive he should do, to make them amends whom he had injured, he would say to the person whom he had disobliged, 'I am sensible my tongue has done me a great deal of mischief, but, on the other hand, it has sometimes done me good ; however, it is but reason I should make some reparation for the injury.' And he never used those kind of apologies to any person, but he did something for the person to whom he made it, and it was always considerable.—PHILIP DE COMINES, *Character of Louis XI.*

CCCXLVI

From the entry into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to. Yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, he resisted those indispositions. But after the king's return, and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness ; and he, who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable ; and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly afflicted with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is usual to so great a soul, he was now not only incurious, but too negligent ; and in his reception of suitors and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men

(strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious ; from which no mortal man was ever more free.—CLARENDON.

CCCXLVII

In forming his schemes, he was, by nature as well as by habit, cautious and considerate. Born with talents which unfolded themselves slowly, and were late in attaining maturity, he was accustomed to ponder every subject that demanded his consideration, with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by any amusement, he revolved it, in silence, in his own breast. He then communicated the matter to his ministers, and after hearing their opinions, took his resolution with a decisive firmness which seldom follows such slow and seemingly hesitating consultation. His promptitude in execution was no less remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his pursuit of them successful. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn, that, during the most ardent and bustling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive ; yet when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war, and such talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age.—ROBERTSON'S *Charles V.*

CCCXLVIII

On his first appearance in the field, Hannibal reconciled, in his own person, the most just method of commanding, with the most perfect obedience to his superiors. Thus he was

equally beloved by his generals and the troops he was appointed to lead. He was possessed of the greatest courage in opposing danger, and the greatest presence of mind in retiring from it. No fatigue was able to subdue his body, nor any misfortune to break his spirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he only took sustenance to content nature, and not to delight his appetite. His seasons for repose or labour were never regular, but he was ever ready when difficulties or his country demanded his aid. He was frequently found stretched on the ground among his sentinels, covered only with a watch coat. His dress differed in nothing from the most ordinary men of his army, except that he affected peculiar elegance in his horses and armour. He was the best horseman and the swiftest runner of his time. He was ever the foremost to engage, and the last to retreat; he was ever prudent in his designs, which were extensive; and ever fertile in expedients to perplex his enemies, or to rescue himself from hardships. He was experienced, sagacious, provident, and bold. Such were the admirable qualities of this inimitable soldier, who is generally allowed the greatest general of antiquity. On the other hand he was cruel and faithless; without honour, without religion; and yet so deceitful as to assume the appearance of them all; yet it ought to be remembered that they were his enemies who gave him this character.

GOLDSMITH'S *Roman History*.

CCCXLIX

During his exile, he delivered himself so entirely to his pleasures, that he became incapable of application. He spent little of his time in reading or study, and yet less in thinking. And, in the state his affairs were then in, he accustomed himself to say to every person, and upon all occasions, that which he thought would please most; so that words or promises went very easily from him. And he had so ill an opinion of mankind, that he thought the great art of living and governing was, to manage all things and all persons with

a depth of craft and dissimulation. And in that few men in the world could put on the appearances of sincerity better than he could ; under which so much artifice was usually hid, that in conclusion he could deceive none, for all were become distrustful of him. He had great vices, but scarce any virtues to correct them. He had in him some vices that were less hurtful, which corrected his more hurtful ones. He was, during the active part of his life, given up to sloth and lewdness to such a degree that he hated business, and could not bear the engaging in anything that gave him much trouble, or put him under any constraint. And though he desired to become absolute, and to overturn both our religion and our laws, yet he would neither run the risk nor give himself the trouble, which so great a design required.

BURNET, *Character of Charles II.*

CCCL

There remains only to speak of her person, which was most amiably majestic, the nicest eye could find no fault in the outward lineaments of her face, or proportion of her body ; it was such as pleased wherever she had the desire it should ; yet she never envied that of any other, which might better please in general : in the same manner, as being content that her manner was esteemed where she desired they should, she never depreciated those of any other that were esteemed or preferred elsewhere. For she aimed not at a general love or a general esteem where she was not known ; it was enough to be possessed of both wherever she was. Having lived to the age of sixty-two years ; not courting regard, but receiving it from all who knew her ; not loving business but discharging it fully wheresoever duty or friendship engaged her in it ; not following greatness, but not declining to pay respect, as far as was due from independence and disinterest ; having honourably absolved all the parts of life, she forsook this world, where she had left no act of duty or virtue undone, for that where alone such acts are rewarded.—POPE.

APPENDIX

I

¹ Tum Anci filii duo, ² etsi antea semper pro ³ indignissimo habuerant se ⁴ patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis ⁵ indignitas crescere, ⁶ si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad ⁷ servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quam Romulus deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, ⁸ donec in terris fuerit, ⁹ id Servius, serva natus, possideat. ¹⁰ Cum commune Romani nominis tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis ¹¹ virili stirpe salva non modo advenis, sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret. Ferro igitur ¹² eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis, quam in Servium eos stimulabat; et, quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex ¹³ futurus erat quam privatus; tum Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum ¹⁴ delegisset, ¹⁵ eundem regni heredem facturum videbatur:—ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus ¹⁶ duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores ¹⁷ regios convertunt. ¹⁸ Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. ¹⁹ Primo uterque vociferari et certatim ²⁰ alter alteri obstrepere. ²¹ Coerciti ab lictore et iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ²² ex composito orditur. Dum intentus in eam se rex ²³ totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.—LIVY, I. 40.

¹ 72; 63.	⁶ 51, 4; 57, 2.	¹¹ 47 a.	¹⁶ 74.	²¹ 89, a.
² 46.	⁷ 59, 2.	¹² 81.	¹⁷ 111 a.	²² 115.
³ 115.	⁸ 44.	¹³ 131, 3.	¹⁸ 85, 1.	²³ 117, 3.
⁴ 111 a.	⁹ 66, 5.	¹⁴ 45.	¹⁹ 89, a.	
⁵ 102.	¹⁰ 78.	¹⁵ 66, 5.	²⁰ 126 b, 1.	

II

¹ At enim te ad accusandum res publica adduxit. ² Credo, Cato, te isto animo atque ea opinione venisse; sed tu imprudentia laberis. ³ Ego quod ⁴ facio, iudices, ⁵ cum amicitiae dignitatisque L. Murenæ ⁴ facio, tum me pacis, ⁶ otii, concordiae, libertatis, salutis, vitae denique omnium nostrum causa ⁴ facere ⁷ clamo atque testor. ⁸ Audite, audite consulem, iudices, nihil, dicam arrogantius, ⁹ tantum dicam, totos dies atque noctes de republica ¹⁰ cogitantem! Non usque eo L. Catilina rem publicam despexit atque contempsit, ut ea copia, quam secum eduxit, se hanc civitatem oppressurum ¹¹ arbitraretur. Latius patet illius sceleris ¹² contagio, quam quisquam putat, ¹³ ad plures pertinet. ¹⁴ Intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus; a quo nunquam me consule dormientes opprimemini. Quaeris a me, ecquid ego Catilinam metuam. Nihil, et curavi, ne quis metueret, sed ¹⁵ copias illius, quas hic video, dico ¹⁶ esse metuendas; nec tam timendus est nunc exercitus L. Catilinae quam iste, qui illum exercitum deseruisse dicuntur. Non enim ¹⁷ deseruerunt, sed ab illo in speculis atque insidiis relictis ¹⁸ in capite atque in cervicibus nostris ¹⁹ restiterunt. ²⁰ Hi et integrum consulem et bonum imperatorem ²¹ et natura et fortuna cum rei publicae salute vestris sententiis deturbari volunt. ²² Quorum ego ferrum et audaciam ²³ reieci in campo, debilitavi in foro, compressi etiam domi meae saepe, iudices, his vos si alterum consulem ²⁴ traderitis, plus multo erunt vestris sententiis quam ²⁵ suis gladiis ²⁶ consecuti. Magni, interest, iudices, id quod ego ²⁷ multis repugnantibus egi atque perfeci, ²⁸ esse Kalendis Ianuariis in re publica duos consules. Nolite arbitrari, ²⁹ mediocribus consiliis aut usitatis viis ³⁰ agi. ³¹ Non lex improba, non perniciosa largitio, non auditum aliquando ³² aliquod malum rei publicae quaeritur. Inita sunt in hac civitate consilia, iudices, urbis delendae, ³³ civium trucidandorum, nominis Romani extinguendi. Atque haec cives, ³⁴ cives, inquam, si eos hoc nomine appellari fas est, de patria sua ³⁵ et cogitant et cogitaverunt. ³⁶ Horum ego cotidie ³⁷ consiliis occurro, audaciam debilito, sceleri resisto. Sed ³⁸ moneo, iudices: In exitu iam

est meus consulatus; nolite mihi subtrahere vicarium meae diligentiae, ³⁹ nolite adimere eum, cui rem publicam cupio tradere incolumem ab ⁴⁰ his tantis periculis defendendam.—
CICERO, *Pro Murena*, cap. xxxvii.

¹ 86.	⁹ 90, 1.	¹⁷ 132.	²⁵ 77, 1 c.	³³ 88, 4.
² 86.	¹⁰ 82.	¹⁸ 95.	²⁶ 82.	³⁴ 84, 1.
³ 61, 16; 63.	¹¹ 82.	¹⁹ 82.	²⁷ 47 a.	³⁵ 88, 1.
⁴ 60, 1.	¹² 93.	²⁰ 85, 1.	²⁸ 61, 12.	³⁶ 61, 16; 63.
⁵ 78.	¹³ 90, 1.	²¹ 88, 1.	²⁹ 61, 16.	³⁷ 77, 1 a.
⁶ 88, 4.	¹⁴ 84, 1; 61, 16; 63.	²² 66, 5.	³⁰ 59, 3.	³⁸ 123 a, 2 b.
⁷ 60, 8.	¹⁵ 61, 16; 63.	²³ 77, 1 a.	³¹ 84, 2; 88, 3.	³⁹ 88, 3.
⁸ 84, 1.	¹⁶ 82.	²⁴ 60, 13.	³² 127.	⁴⁰ 129.

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the same time, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) published a letter to the editor that stated:

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